NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment----Without Compromise. | JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Corresponding Editor.

VOLUME IX.---NO. 5. | NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1848. | WHOLE NUMBER 421.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY
At 142 Nassau Street, New-York.

☞All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to the Editor.

☞Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. Gay, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—Two Dollars per annum: Strictly in advance in all cases.

Pro-Slavery.

We copy from the Charleston (S. C.) Mercury another of the letters of the Right Reverend Rector of St. Phillip's Church to Mr. Palfrey. There is nothing new in it that has not been answered, as far as it needs any, a thousand times; but the answer manner in which it is put is too "rich" to be lost:

To the Rev. and Hon. J. G. Palfrey, M. C.:

Hic, ubi, cognatorum opibus curisque refectus,
Expulit helleboro morbum bilem que meraco,
Et redit ad sese; Pol, me occidistis amici,
Non servastis, ait; cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.
HORACE.

He, when his friends, at much expense and pains,
Had amply purged with hellebore his brains,
Came to himself—"Ah, cruel fiend!" he cried,
Is this to save me? Better far have died,
Than thus be robbed of pleasure so refined,
The dear delusion of a raptured mind.—FRANCIS.

SIR:—I fear that some of the Abolitionists answer too well the above description. The delusion that they are philanthropists and benefactors of the negroes is so grateful an error, that they repine if truth, more potent than hellebore, cleanses their brains of vain fancies. I have sometimes thought that if, instead of frightening off such persons, we could only force them to spend four or five years among us, and give them, on a small scale, full scope to carry out their schemes of African melioration, we should spoil much of their rhetoric, and greatly improve their tempers. The sensitiveness of the South has been the capital on which their opponents have traded; and while it is natural for high-minded men to wince when openly called negro-stealers, and when their right to their property is flatly denied, as a question of mere policy the best course probably would be to let the evil cure itself, by suffering the agitators to say all that they have to say, and propose all that they have to propose, and then coolly voting them down, as I doubt not a majority in Congress is always ready to do on a fair issue.

But the misfortune of the South is, that not the Abolitionists only, but almost all non-slaveholders, have quietly settled down in the conclusion that Slavery is morally wrong, and that, abstractly considered, no man has a right to hold property in his fellow-man. The effect of this state of opinion is, that our institutions are looked upon as only maintained by sufferance; and if we can hold up our heads and make it appear that we are not absolute land-pirates and men-thieves, but decent Christian people, we are deemed fortunate. I ought not to disguise it, that this general sentence against them was not without influence upon the South itself.—Some it exasperated to enact more restrictive and harsh measures; others became dissatisfied with these measures; and while they believed the institution right, looked upon the means taken to uphold it as wrong.

But I think I can safely say that the violence and effrontery of the Abolitionists have brought about a greater degree of unanimity at the South on this whole subject than has ever prevailed before. I doubt not the consciousness of Christians here are more fully persuaded than they have ever been hitherto, that they are performing their duties to God, to their fellow-men, and to the negroes themselves, by retaining them in that state of dependence in which God has placed them. Instead of shrinking from controversy upon this subject, and making our course apologetic, the Christians at the South are ready to prove that, as a means of evangelizing and improving the moral condition of the African race, the Institution of Slavery has been not only the cheapest, but the best that is practicable. And this I say as one who has taken, and still takes, a lively interest in all the foreign missionary efforts of the day.

If, then, any of the Northern agitators are stimulated in their efforts by the idea that an inward weakness is undermining the Institution at the South, we must even rob them of this refined pleasure by striving to rectify their minds. We do not believe Slavery morally wrong. We assert a complete right in man to hold property in his fellow-man. We are ready to join issue with the world on these points. Nor do we mean to be shamed out of our position and our course by all the sentimental whining, or philosophical jargon, that may be poured out upon us from the other side of either the Potomac or the Atlantic.

We have never feared a separation of the Union either in Church or State. Nor do we shrink from it now. We believe that the South has ever been the tax-payer. Nor have we been able to discover any political, or moral, or religious benefit that we have derived from the North, equivalent to the contributions we have voluntarily made. As Christians and patriots we dislike divisions; but our judgments tell us that, if the Union is to be perpetually disturbed by Abolition, our prosperity would be advanced by a separate organization; and unless I deceive myself, the time is not distant when the whole South will refuse to remain in either Civil or Ecclesiastical union with those who traduce their characters, and endanger their property. Moderation, forbearance, forgiveness, are acknowledged duties: but they are not without limitation. Nor do I believe the Saviour or his Apostles would require us to obtrude our fellowship upon those who prescribe to us improper conditions. So far from regarding Slavery as morally wrong, we deem it our duty to maintain it, and we mean to maintain it, God helping us, though it should cost us a separation from the Union.

So far from admitting that we have no right to hold property in our fellow-men, we consider this one of the oldest and best established kinds of property, and are prepared to make good against every species of property the very arguments which are directed against this. We feel no apprehension that, at the Day of Final Account, the fact of our having lived and died slaveholders will be alleged against us, even by the Accuser of the Brethren, however loudly it may be echoed here. Knowing how widely our Northern friends differ from us on this subject, we have usually contented ourselves with the conviction that we were right. But should we come out fully with our views, they will perhaps be astonished to find, that when they had supposed us silent from conscious weakness, it was, on the contrary, from a calm persuasion of our strength. Should the Union of these States be severed—should a new Confederacy be formed for the South, embracing most of the tropical and fertile territories and islands which demand slave labour; and should a direct and open importation of negroes from Africa (freed from all the horrors of piracy, and secrecy, and force) be the consequence, it is possible that results would ensue which would surprise and confound the pseudo friend of the negro. It may be, that after a few years the North would be glad to purchase a re-admission into so prosperous a Confederacy; and the missionaries, now toiling almost fruitlessly to convert and civilize the barbarous hordes of savages and slaves in Africa, would acknowledge that it was far better to transport them to Christianity and civilization than to transport these to them. I know, sir, that in saying this I am going rather beyond the question at issue, and may seem to give our opponents an advantage. They are welcome to it. We wish them to understand distinctly what the views of many of us at the South are upon the whole subject in all its bearings; and not being ashamed of our sentiments, we see no reason for concealing them, though not directly relevent. If the North says, as it seems disposed to do: "We think African Slavery wrong, and mean to make use of the Federal Union as an indirect means of preventing its extension," certainly we at the South might as properly say: "We think African Slavery right, and if we are prevented from extending it by the Union we will extend it without." The proceedings, not only of Congress, but of the two leading political parties, nay of almost all the great religious bodies, show that African Slavery is becoming the prominent topic, the leading question. As I have already said, if the North feels contaminated with the touch, let them separate. Nay, I go further, and say, that the South ought to disentangle herself from contact with those who thus shrink from her, and seek at least congeniality of sentiment on this point in every body to which her interests and honor are confided. This incessant jarring, this sleepless jealousy, and endless strife are more enfeebling and irritating than entire non-intercourse. And if the North looks upon the South as guilty of moral wrong to their slaves, and the oppressors of their fellow men, why desire a continuance of the alliance? Let an amicable and equitable dissolution take place. They would then have on both sides a fair opportunity of trying experiments as to the great question of African melioration. You at the North might amalgamate and might emancipate by purchase as many as you pleased; while the South would probably import from Africa under circumstances which would exclude cruelty, and would thus evangelize and civilize another generation, who, when prepared in the judgment of our Northern friends for admission to an equality with themselves, would find their way there and swell the tide of amalgamation. I know, sir, that this may look to you like levity, and you may find it difficult to think that I can in earnest speak so coolly of such results. But after all the reflection I have been able to give to this matter, my deliberate conviction is, that the only experiment for improving the African race, that has succeeded, is domestic subjection to the whites in a tropical region; and the history of missions, and of colonization in that country, satisfies me that in the end the whites will have either to get possession of the soil and manage them there, or remove them to this country and manage them here. To say that the tribes of Western Africa are now, or will be in a generation, capable of self-government, is to evince an ignorance of their true condition. What I have to say upon the whole subject then is this, and I say it gravely: If the Northern people wish to make negroes free citizens, and amalgamate with them, politically and socially, let them do so: but let them first separate from the Union, which certainly did not contemplate such a state of things. And if the Southern States wish to carry on their experiment of improving the African race, by means of domestic slavery, let them do so; and if they be wise, let them do it in a way that is to be perfectly untrammelled by Northern interference. The difficulty is, that with the views you entertain upon the subject, it would be difficult for you to forbear in suppressing what you regard as a moral evil, and the same spirit which leads to incessant meddling with the subject at Washington, would prompt you to disturb us even after a separation. What we have then to do is to enlighten your consciences upon the subject. And as you have failed in your efforts to convince ours that it is a moral evil, we must turn the tables, and try to convince you that it is *not* one; and that as conscientious and good people, instead of your stumbling, or being offended by the institution, you ought to regard it as the greatest blessing that can befall the unhappy race you seek to benefit. I know that, upon such a question, we are looked upon as interested parties, and all that we say has to encounter the suspicion of being biased. Whereas you are regarded as pure philanthropists, who simply from generosity sympathize in the woes of the oppressed. But surely there must be some common ground upon which such a question can be met; some common principles and admitted facts upon which it can be settled. If God in His word has either directly or indirectly forbidden Slavery, or if in his providence he has discouraged it, then your side of the case would have a *prima facie* advantage. But if, on the other hand, He has throughout His Word not only recognised it, but given directions for its regulation, and has actually prospered it, in the instance before us, more than any other instrumentality for meliorating the condition of the people, certainly it does not admit of a doubt that we may confidently speak of it as an institution which receives His favour, and which is morally lawful and right. To say that there are evils connected with the institution of slavery, or that where persons, whether Africans or not, are evidently capable of governing themselves they ought to be permitted to do so, and that every one ought to be suffered to enjoy as much freedom as is consistent with the general welfare, does not touch the question. For what human institution or relation is not connected with some, and frequently great evils? Government itself, the social state, marriage, the right of property, the trial by jury, the elective franchise, the administration of oaths—all these have been, and still are, abused, yet men prize them highly. How far persons are capable of self-government, and how far they should be exempted from civil disabilities, is evidently a question which should be settled by the body-politic in which they live; and the complaint we make against our Northern friends is, that they will not let us alone upon the subject, but seem bent upon goading us to do or say something wrong in retaliation for the abuse they give us. Possibly you may think I have expressed in this letter sentiments which are improper. Let me then say distinctly, that I am no disunionist. If the consciences of our Northern brethren could be prevailed upon to keep quiet in reference to our conceived guilt, and we shall be left alone, no one would rejoice more than myself. But disunion itself is better than this endless turmoil. I shall try in my next to show, that if your consciences were better informed, you would let us alone; since God, in His Word and in His Providence, has fully sustained our institution. As I have cited the classics rather more perhaps than is in good taste for a clergyman, permit me to close this, as I shall begin the next, with a quotation from the Scriptures. I trust it is not less pertinent than true.

Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and His doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren; but rather do them service because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness; from such withdraw thyself. But godliness with contentmen is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment, but us be therewith content.

Which side in this controversy the inspired author of this passage would have favoured, I leave it for your own common sense to determine.

W. H. BARNWELL,
Rector of St. Peter's Church, Charleston.

We make room for the following article from the *Georgia Telegraph* (Macon), in its appropriate place, our Pro-Slavery department. We do so, however, only because of its defence of Slavery, and not for its denunciation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North. That, we think, is eminently deserved.

"FAITH AND CHARITY."

The Rev. Doctor Pierce of this State, as is well known to most of our readers was commissioned by the Methodist Church South, to attend the General Conference of the same denomination North, which convened at Pittsburgh some time in this month. As we understand the object of the reverend doctor's embassy, it was two-fold—to establish *Christian fraternity* between the two divisions of the Methodist Church, and to devise an equitable or honest distribution of the assets of that Church now going *into* liquidation. As to the honesty and distribution part of the matter, regarding the latitude, there was great distrust, but who dreamed the *Christian fraternity* project—would have been instantly and indignantly rejected. But so it was by a formal resolve of that most holy convocation. A stranger to the civil and religious persecutions that for fifteen years the South has had to endure, would naturally enquire what heterodoxies had crept into the Church South—or what recusancy had made such sciamatists of Southern professors that they must needs be excommunicated and denied all share in the commonest charities of the religion of Christ. What had the Methodist Church South, done or left undone that they of the North should shut the door of the sanctuary in the face of its venerable representative? Why, nothing. The Church here have for three-quarters of a century been conservators of the strict as well as the liberal spirit of that profession of faith. In the innovations upon the peculiar rites and doctrines of Methodism, it is conceded the churches here have never assisted, but have constantly opposed them. Their zeal is unimpeached, and their success and influence calls for the deepest gratitude. From this quarter contributions have not been in grudging copper, but after the manner of a liberal and earnest-minded people. Their public and private charities have been dispensed with a munificent hand. Their institutions of learning have thrown floods of light over the land. What then is the sin which has cut off the Church South? The sin of Abraham—of Isaac and of Jacob—the sin which Christ and his Apostles winked at or feared to reprobate, the iniquity which the New Testament fathers made laws for—recognized and never questioned—the sin of every kindred, and clime, and age, that ever has been or ever will be, world without end,—the sin of having in your family those who do not sleep in your beds or eat at your boards; in short, the crime of having a black servant to work for, so long as *you live*, instead of a white slave to delve for you so long as you please. That's all we have here done to be deemed worthy of being "cast out" and trodden under the feet of Yankeedom.—How cool is all this sanctimonious rage against the Church here. These hypocrites—these wolves in sheeps clothing drive us out of not only our own house, but they afterwards divide it between us and them, taking the *inside*, pious souls, for their modest share. We'll be bound for this result, however, for let them be fighting or praying on the side of the true faith or serving the devil, their eyes are never closed for an instant to the main chance. Religion wite them is a good thing, because *something clear* is offered to the sum of their present existence, and it is worth professing, because when nothing more is to be made here, there will be a change of thrift hereafter. The *golden* pavements we dare say, are of more moment with this prim, substantial, practical, brotherhood, than are all those sublime joys felt by the rapt seraph "that adores and burns" in the smile of the Eternal in Heaven.

Dr. Pierce rejected, and the Southern Church repudiated, disavowed, and by whom? Why, by a set of men, who, in their faithless disregard of the most solemn law of their Church, and of its very constitution, have gone far ahead of the lawlessness and violence of the most turbulent political parties or assemblages. By a class of burning bigots, who have brought their religion into disgrace with the world it was commissioned to redeem, and who have by their unworthiness, disarmed the very thunders of God, which they presumptuously carry in their hands.

These resolves and these holy washing of hands come with a good grace from men who must first commit the sin of paricide before they clear the way for the murder of their brother. Who first destroy the church, and then degrade the communicant. What must the two or three in the Pittsburgh Conference, who still preach *restitution* as well as repentance, say of these assenting worthies who lived among us for years without so much as reproving "soul-drivers" by a look, who themselves became infected with our lust for acquisition of bone and sinews, and had their bills of sale, and owned and drove too, most ungraciously, the "poor blacks." We have seen such worthies in two States, and heard of them in others. Those close gleaners left us after they had laden themselves, took good care however to *sell out* before they turned saint, and now feel themselves refreshed and better able to declare to the world how hell-deserving we are, for having enjoyed the pleasures of our sin for a season. Yankee pastors say we drive the souls of negroes; and we say some of them we wot of, are eating their bodies. Two or three of the most disgusting instances of this hypocritical canting about Slavery are furnished in the history of some of these Northern drivers, (two at least) well known in Georgia. They held slaves in this State, and we have been informed by gentlemen who knew them well, disgraced, so far as merely personal inhumanity could do so, the whole community of masters. They were notoriously the most exacting; the hardest masters in the whole country; but we suppose became disgusted at our barbarous system of servitude; sold their interest in crime to the *highest* bidder; and, before leaving us for the purer atmosphere they *now* breathe, took good care to leave the devil a fit substitute upon their retiring from his service.

This whole difficulty between the churches South and North is a most revolting picture. Let no whining Northern Methodist Preacher harp any more upon that black trait of Romanism they delight so much to dwell on, that "the end sanctifies the means." For if the setting of the captive free be a virtue worthy of a Christian's labours, so is faith, (we mean bona fide) so is charity, that "hopeth all things, that vaunteth not itself," and so is honour and honesty, also worthy of a Christian's love. We cannot hear these men preach of brotherly love, when the disown their own brotherhood for what their fathers not only avowed, but were mainly instrumental in fixing upon the country. Nor of truth when they first injure and then belie us. Nor yet of justice, when they first attack and then rob us. If it be the true spirit of the gentleman to reject a Minister of peace on a mission of peace and brotherly love, as Dr. Pierce was rejected by the Pittsburg conference, then we boldly avow we are not, and never hope to be, of this household of faith. If religion will not deter or persuade men from acts of rapacity and venal wrong, then we had better put out our pulpits to a better use, and leave men to the guidance of a gentlemanly honour. If the course pursued by Northern Christians in reference to their own church discipline, be the way to acquit ourselves as Christians; if the conduct of these men on the distribution of a common church property be the marks of that meekness, and that charity spoken of as the peculiar duty and virtue of the Christian gentleman, then do we declare we are just no Christian at all, and hope never to be, as we hope for salvation.

In the Christian world at the North at least, the omens do not favour the predictions of Father Miller and the latter-day saints, for the Millennium is rather (we think) taking the back track, if these and other specimens of Christian progress in some of the churches are to be regarded as the heralds of the coming of the day, foretold by the prophets of old, when all mankind should become a spiritual household: "a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ."

Selections.

SOUTHERN DISAFFECTION.

The *Charleston Mercury* says, the nomination of Cass and the resolution in relation to Slavery, have fallen on the ears of the South like the startling tones of an alarm bell." The views of the one and the sentiments of the other are "too monstrous to be tolerated—too degrading to be endured."

The *News*, published at Jacksonville, Florida, says the Democracy of that State will repudiate the Baltimore nominee. "We may now," says the *News*, "consider that the majority of the citizens of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland and Delaware, are in favour of the abolition of Slavery within their respective States. By the very act they have committed, they have either prevented the execution of their wish or entailed a lasting curse upon their neighbours. The first result of a law declaring gradual emancipation will cause emigration, and the rapid sale of negroes. If we are to be excluded with this property from new territory, whither are the slaves to go?

The delegates from Virginia, Alabama, and Florida, were instructed by the State Convention to support, under no political necessity whatever, any candidate who refused to acknowledge the equality of the States, and the right of any man to remove with his property into any territory of the Union.—In this they merely asked an acknowledgment of that, which up to the time of the present war with Mexico, had never ben denied. But with the acquisition of new soil, the element of abolitionism had entererred into politics, and the Southern States found themselves threatened with a direct overthrow of their constitutional rights. We, therefore, claimed of the Democratic party a distinct and unequivocal acknowledgment of these rights. Our delegates have presented this claim, and it has been refused."

Poor Cass! His miserable letter, written for both sides of Mason and Dixon's line, has displeased everybody. Served him right. We have now got rid of him in the Senate, and we think he will not try his hand at letter-writing on the slave question for some time to come.—*N. Y. Globe.*

The following interesting letter to the New York Tribune is, we presume from the initials, from Dr. Snodgrass. He will have observed that we corrected, in last week's *Standard*, the statement recently made by one of our correspondents relative to the church-membership of Hope *Hull-Slaughter.*

DOINGS IN MARYLAND.

The Conviction of Stephen Redden for receiving Anti-Slavery Publications—The Penalty—His Death by Suicide—The Slave Traffic Abandoned by Hope H. Slatter—Probable Cause of the Step—The Methodist Episcopal Church and Slavery—Presbyterian Ditto—General Reflections, &c.

Correspondence of the Tribune:

BALTIMORE, JUNE 20, 1848.

I observe that you state, on the authority of the Baltimore *Sun*, the fact of the recent conviction, in Somerset County, of the free coloured man Stephen Redden, on the charge of "having in his possession certain pictures of an abolition character, contrary to the act in such cases," and express the regret that the nature of the penalty was not stated. Observing a similar call for light in other Northern papers, I have thought it well to answer your questions, in order if there be yet in the Free States a single man who really is uninformed of the true character of the Slavery-protecting laws of the land of Calvert, ("tolerant Calvert") he may not be left in ignorance on the subject any longer—perhaps to the pleading of that ignorance, hereafter, as an excuse for not having thrown his voice and his vote against the farther extension of the prolific root of all such oppressive laws!

The law under which Redden was convicted, was, doubtless, that passed in 1835, as a supplement to a previous law on the same subject, which was enacted in 1831, but not found sufficient in its provisions and penalties. It has several sections, one of which relates to the *publishing* of forbidden matter; intended to over-awe the freedom of the Press! The section relating to the "circulation of incendiary matter," reads as follows:

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland*, That, after the passage of this act, it shall be deemed a high offence against the Supremacy of this State, for any person knowingly to circulate, or in any way knowingly to assist in circulating, among the inhabitants thereof, *any pictorial representation*, or any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill or other paper, printed or written, of an inflammatory character, having a *tendency* to create discontent among, and to stir up insurrection, the people of colour of this State, and that every person that shall be duly convicted of this offence, shall be guilty of a *felony*, and shall be senteneed to undergo a confinement, in the Penitentiary of this State, for a period of time *not less than ten, nor more than twenty years*, from the time of sentence on such offender..

Do you ask me whether this enactment is not a "dead letter" on the statute book of Maryland, so as to render the conviction of Redden a mere form, gone through for the purpose of intimidation? I answer no! Such cruel farces are, I know, sometimes enacted in our Southern Courts, as in the memorable case of Brown, who was sentenced to *death* by Judge O'Niell, under the laws of South Carolina, for spiriting away his betrothed; but our law is a *reality*. But recently our new Democratic Governor reprieved a coloured man, who had been confined in the Penitentiary for *nine* of the "ten years" provided in the above law, as the *minimum* penalty for this "felony." I refer to the case of Sherry Wilson, which the readers of that valuable *melange* the "Liberty Bell," will remember to have read, as described by Caroline Healy Dale in words of touching pathos. It is true that the indulgent treatment extended to poor Sherry during those long nine years, placed as he was in the capacity of gardner in Summer and boot-black in Winter—a general favourite of the officials did he, indeed, become—indicated more plainly than words could have done, that those who daily looked upon his venerable form, *felt* that he was guilty of no crime and deserved no punishment, and that the law *ought* to be a dead letter; but still he remained in that gloomy prison for those long and weary years, an exile from home and family, in obedience to this same law, unwarrantably cruel as it will seem to those who read its provisions for the first time.

No! it is *not* a dead letter; and, doubtless, had not the present victim of this law, in the spirit of Roman chivalry, preferred death to imprisonment, Stephen Redden would, ere this, have taken Sherry Wilson's place. For, be it known, that like the slaves in Kentucky, whose tragic end is now thrilling the minds of thousands of humane readers wherever the newspapers have dared to give them the facts, Stephen has chosen to die by his own hand!

I never have been able to justify the act of suicide, and I have been of the impression that it could not well be the promptings of a sane mind; but if there is an exception to be allowed, it seems to me that exception is furnished in such a case as this. If there was meaning, beyond the mere sound of a rhetorical imprecation, in the exclamation of Patrick Henry, "Give me Liberty, or give me *Death!*" then we cannot help sympathizing with a poor, friendless individual, of a down-trodden race, arraigned in a Slave-holding community, before a Slave-holding Judge and a Slave-holding Jury, without money to employ counsel, and convicted under laws of which he was, in all probability, totally ignorant, as was Sherry Wilson, and whose penalties his imagination might well be expected to exaggerate into worse than a scaffold death—ay, even in that act of suicide which has hurried his soul into the presence of its God! An Anti-Slavery writer has well and forcibly remarked, that Slavery is not an *anomaly*, that one cannot subject it to rules of right and wrong applicable to most other subjects of human inquiry. Thousands of facts in the terrific history of this, our National Crime, have illustrated the thought and stamped it true.

While I have my pen in hand, I will give your readers another piece of news, which may serve to relieve the gloom of the narrative just given. It had been for some weeks, rumoured that our prince of slave dealers, Hope Hull Slatter, had abandoned the accursed traffic, and closed up his slave-prison. Although a friend of mine, doing business nearly opposite to the establishment, told me that he had the fact from Slatter's own lips, it was such cheering news as to stagger my credulity—too good to be believed. But when at the prison of one of his competitors, Campbell & Co. (where, let me say in a satisfactory parenthesis, I went to receive into freedom Ellen Stewart, slave of Mrs. Madison—one of the *Pearl* fugitives,) I was assured that there was no mistake about the truth of the rumour. It seems the lot from the Pearl over which Rev. Henry Slicer struck hands in such clerical complacence, according to the graphic description of Hon. Mr. Slingerland, was about the last that Slatter had the heart to buy. Whether the scathing denunciations of him and his traffic, quoted by Mr. Slicer in his lame attempt at a defence were instrumental in converting Slatter, I am unable to say; but certainly the publication of them in the body of Mr. Slicer's letter in the *Clipper*, was at least one help to the cause of truth—albeit, the Rever end gentleman was far from intending it to have any goodly effect.

By the bye, I observe that some of the Northern papers—the *Anti-Slavery Standard* among them—still speak of Slatter as a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This is certainly not the fact. So far, he is only a pew-holder, (in the "Pew Church," built a year or two ago by the Methodist *elite*,) his wife being a member, I believe. However, it is not improbable that he *will* be a member before long, should he continue in his penitent state. My friend, above mentioned, understood him to say that he would join the Church if they would receive him. Why not receive him? Mr. Slatter, aside from his disreputable business, is a man whose qualities could not fail to make him a useful member. Indeed, so different in physical and intellectual conformation—so far as one can judge without intimate acquaintance—is he from most of the men who have stood forth as human flesh-mongers, that the surprise has always been that he has continued so long in the business! But apart from these considerations, surely a slave-dealer *out* of the business is as worthy to become a church member as a slaveholder *in* his position; and it is well known that there are thousands of *slaveholders* in the Methodist Episcopal Church! I see no reason, therefore, why Mr. Slatter should not be received with open arms the moment he gives reasonable evidence that he has resolved to sin no more. If a *precedent* were wanting it might easily be found in the case of Mr. Parsons of this city, who, becoming convinced of the sinfulness of the same traffic, abandoned it, tore down his slave-prison, built dwellings with the materials, and joined the church.

By the by, seeing that the General Conference, during its recent session in Pittsburgh, restored the good old "Wesleyan rule" respecting the exclusion of *rumsellers* from the church, would it not have been wise and more consistent to have returned to the Wesleyan Platform with respect to *slaveholders* also? Alas! how has the glory of early Methodism departed! No longer do we hear Slavery denounced in the language of scathing rebuke which he habitually used; but on the contrary, we behold the lamentable spectacle of a division of the Church preferred to the giving up of this darling sin, and one half, therefore, seemingly taking the ground of the Calhoun school, as if Slavery were the only sure foundation of *Christianity* as well of Republicanism! But I do not wish to be understood as singling out the Methodist Church as alone guilty in this respect. The Presbyterian Church—the church of my fathers—has indicated afresh through her General Assembly recently convened in this city, that she is given over to the same unrighteousness. Never were more special pains taken by any body of *Christians* to keep the subject of Slavery out of the discussions than by that same body—first by placing Rev. Dr. Thornwell, of Charleston, S. C. at the head of the business Committee, (the "Committee on Overtures," I believe it is called:) and secondly, by the manœuvring of the stated clerk, who appeared to be a "Northern man with Southern principles," selected with special reference to his *qualifications* for the work! Every avenue whereby the question might by any possibility, find an entrance, was guarded with Cerberus-like care—so much so, that the word "Slavery" would probably not have been found on the minutes, had it not been for Rev. Mr. Finney, a quite young man from New Philadelphia, Ohio, and some two or three other noble spirits who had the nerve to join with him in a protest against the exclusion of the usual epistle from the Irish Church! This was not all. The Assembly even resorted to the expedient of puffing the African Colonization cause, as such—a plan of *quasi* Anti-Slavery, which just serves to quiet the consciences of thousands whose moral feelings have been touched by the *living* truths of Reform! Oh! the immense—the irresistible power—of the Churches of this land, if they would only consent to bear the Cross in their hearts and lives, instead of upon their steeples and on their lips in forms of outward praise and prayer!

But I must stop, having extended this letter to a length far beyond what I designed—led on as I have been by a class of facts and feelings that ever rush to my pen and clamour for utterance the moment I touch the theme of my country's giant curse and sin.

J. E. S.

From the Albany Atlas.

VOICE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FATHERS.

On the 18th of October, 1774, the Continental Congress adopted a plan of association containing a variety of articles, among which we find the following, which is commended to the attention of our readers, and particularly to those who are disposed to favour the perpetuation of the slave-trade, by extending it to the territories of the United States where Slavery does not exist, or is not permitted by the local law.

The article to which we allude contains this remarkable language:

"We will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

The plan of association containing the foregoing article was signed by the members of the Congress whose names are given below, and may be found in the first volume of the journals of that Congress:

PEYTON RANDOLPH, Pres.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.	John Dickinson,
John Sullivan,	Charles Humphreys,
Nathaniel Folsom.	Thomas Mifflin,
MASSACHUSETTS BAY.	Edward Biddle,
Thomas Cushing,	John Morton,
Samuel Adams,	George Ross.
John Adams,	DELAWARE.
Robert Treat Paine.	Cæsar Rodney,
RHODE-ISLAND.	Thomas McKean,
Stephen Hopkins,	George Read.
Samuel Ward.	MARYLAND.
CONNECTICUT.	Mathew Tilghman,
Eliphalet Dyer,	Thomas Johnson.
Roger Sherman,	William Paca,
Silas Dean.	Samuel Chase.
NEW-YORK.	VIRGINIA.
Isaac Low,	George Washington,
John Alsop,	Richard Henry Lee,
John Jay,	Patrick Henry, Jr.
James Deane,	Richard Bland,
William Floyd,	Benjamin Harrison,
Henry Wisner,	Edward Pendleton.
S. Boerum,	NORTH CAROLINA.
Philip Livingston,	William Hooper,
NEW-JERSY.	Joseph Hughes,
James Kensey,	R. Caswell.
William Livingston,	SOUTH CAROLINA.
Stephen Crane,	Henry Middleton,
Richard Smith,	Thomas Lynch,
John D. Hart.	Christopher Gadsden,
PENNSYLVANIA.	John Rutledge,
Joseph Galloway,	Edward Rutledge.

DECREASE OF POPULATION IN CUBA.

The last number of the *Verdad* has a searching analysis of the Statistical Report of the Island of Cuba for 1847, which it says, the Government, in the "inscrutable wisdom of colonial omnipitence" suppressed. By comparing the population statistics of 1841 with those of 1847, it will be perceived there is a decrease of 113,736 *slaves* in six years.

	White.	Free Col'd.	Slaves.	Total.
Census of 1841	418,291	152 838	436 495	1,007 624
Census of 1847.	425,770	159,223	323,759	898.752
Diminuiton.			112 736	108,872

It will be seen says, the New York Tribune, *La Verdad* has quoted correctly the Government returns, that this blotting out of a ninth part of the population of this Island has not resulted from war or pestilence or emigration. *It is an absolute extinction of over one hundred thousand slaves.* They have not passed by emancipation into the ranks of the free coloured population, for the increase of that class is but 6,385 on 152,838, a moderate advance through births alone in six years, as little can they have disappeared by emigration, for there is no perceptible departure of coloured persons from Cuba—there is no outlet for that class of its inhabitants. What then, becomes of the slaves that vanish from the face of the earth, at the rate of 20,000 a year? Hear the answer of *La Verdad*, a Spanish American paper printed here, but having its editorials on Cuba prepared in Havana, within sight and hearing of the palace of the Governor:

"The real explanation is that the coloured race exists in a state of Slavery and hardship unfavourable to life, and the country is still less favourable to increase than the cities on account of the greater severity of labour, the paucity of females in proportion to men, the stinted and inferior quality of food, the harsh exposure, and the want of useful sleep. All these are more than sufficient to destroy the faculties of man, moral, intellectual and physical, whatever may be the colour of his skin or the latitude of his birth. Add to these causes the horrid slaughter made by the military commission of the Governor of Cuba, in which eight or ten thousand negroes were murdered in Matanzas and Cardenas alone, by eight or ten thousand modes of torture, to verify a supposed conspiracy, which in any case could not have been more than a dozen of the race, and it will be easy to understand the loss of the slave population."

PROGRESS.—We learn from the following article from the *New York Observer* that that paper has got along so far as to be opposed to the re-establishment of Slavery where has been already abolished. We congratulate it. Perhaps after a little more thinking upon the subject it will be able to calculate exactly how much would have been done for the slave by that sort of *Anti*-Slavery which has been put down by Abolitionism, and which is glad of the chance of being at length understood by the South as perfectly satisfied with a compact which binds the North not to meddle with the system except to support it. We have italicised that portion of the article to which we refer.

THE SOUTHERN PROVISO AND DISUNION.

We are no alarmists. There is neither honesty nor policy in trying to frighten people into the belief of coming danger, to rouse them against imaginary evils.

We are no croakers. It is more to our mind to look hopefully upon the world, the country and the times, and to make the best of everything, till we can make it better.

But we do sincerely believe that there are two parties at work in this country to pull it asunder. We know that one party desires and designs this result; we are not sure that the other does, but it is far more efficient in precipitating the catastrophe than the first.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard of this city speaking of a late political event, says:

It is a long pull and strong pull upon the cord which binds us together as one people, and which is already stretched almost to its utmost tension, and will do much to snap it.—If we only had a few more men hold at our end of the rope it would break like burning flax. But *unfortunately* we have not the men yet.

It is true that the men who are represented by the Standard are few and far between, and have not as much influence in this community as an equal number of fresh emigrants, but in the matter of disunion, they speak a sentiment, which we are sorry to say, is growing daily, and is often uttered by the most calm, judicious and patriotic men we have among us. There is this difference, however, between these Abolitionists, and men of whom we are now speaking. The former *desire* disunion, the latter *fear* it as a coming evil. We have the means of *knowing* that there are many of the best men at the North, who would willingly make the sacrifice of everything but principles for the sake of their country, who feel that the encroachments of the Southern politicians are becoming intolerable, and that the point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue is near. Whether true or false, the impression is very general at the North, that the war with Mexico had new territory for its primary object, with the extension of the slave-power as the ultimate end. The Wilmot Proviso was introduced to put a veto upon such a result. The Southern Proviso is now pressed to secure it. The issue is distinctly made, and it is right that the people should have the facts clearly before them, that they may act understandingly.

The North understands that the Calhouns and Yanceys of the South, and we were surprised to see Mr. Berrien's name in the same relation, now demand that in the erection of a territorial government, over new soil, the new Government shall not be at liberty to prevent the introduction of Slavery. Take an example: in the Mexican Territory, annexed by the treaty just ratified, Slavery does not exist; and the Southern demand is, that the people inhabiting that territory, and such as may emigrate there, shall not be permitted to prevent the establishment of Slavery. Yet the men making this demand, claim to be *Democrats*, and to believe in *democratic* forms of government, as the best adapted to work out the good of the people. And the North asks where is the *democracy* of this extraordinary claim? Democracy regards the rights of the people anywhere and everywhere, as well as in South Carolina or Alabama. Democracy looks upon all men as possessed of certain rights, and among these the first is freedom, and the right to extend the area of freedom. Democracy has all its sympathies with the people, in Europe or America. In the Baltimore Democratic National Convention in May, we heard delegates from the North assure that Convention, that the Democracy of the North will never consent to share the soil of new territory with slaves: that the doctrine of "equal rights" was the prime doctrine of the Democratic creed, and would be brought to bear irresistibly on this very question. "We mean," said they, "to take this very question to the polls, and make it a test of *Democracy*, and the result will be the union of the entire East, North and West, against the South." When Mr. Yancey of Alabama proposed to reject the Barnburners because they were in favour of the Wilmot Proviso, Gov. Toucey of Connecticut, just now appointed Attorney General of the United States, warned the Convention in such words as these: "Beware, beware how you reject these delegates on such grounds. Reject them, if you please, but if you separate them from your ranks *because they are Wilmot Proviso men*, you put in jeopardy every State north of Mason and Dixon's line." This was plain speaking, but there was truth in it, and therefore power. Men of all parties at the North are taking this ground, that the Constitution secures the present States in the possession of their own institutions, and they may have them as long as they please, but no considerations of duty requires the North to consent to the extension of the system of Slavery any further. The farthest that any good man will go in this matter is to consent to leave the question with the people of the new Territory. But it is contended, that "we are a Confederacy, and will not have new members added, except on terms agreeable to all the present partners. We like it well enough as it is, and wish no new members, unless all agree on the terms."

voted against the Naval Appropriation Bill, because he preferred that it be rejected rather than four or five of the items should be passed. One of them proposed the removal of the obstruction in the Savannah River, among other things; and this was all he had to remark on that bill. But he would now take notice of an attack made upon his constituents by his colleague, (Mr. Giddings,) and by his friend (Judge Bayly.) It was charged that his (Mr. Sawyer's constituents engaged in a mob against negroes, and drove them out of his district.

Mr. *Bayly*—It is due to my friend and his district to say, that in my remarks on the occasion alluded to, I cast no imputation. The point of my remarks was against those who expelled free negroes from their soil, and yet sent representatives here encouraging the flight of slaves. The gentleman's constituents sent no such representatives here. I hope he does not understand me as casting a reproach.

Mr. *Sawyer*—I will not, because I presume the gentleman did not understand the matter so well as my colleague. A portion of the press of Ohio say we are mobites. We deny it; yet these gentlemen never printed our defence. They did not let the bane go with the antidote, and the antidote with the bane. They circulated the slander, and never retracted. As one of the representatives of the state of Ohio, standing in my place, I say Ohio will never submit to the slave States sending their negroes to our borders. If the time shall come for making the attempt to do so, the banks of the Ohio would be lined with men, a mile deep, with their muskets, to prevent such a thing. Notwithstanding what my colleague said, we acted not in violation of law, but in accordance with it, in ordering certain free negroes to remove from my county. (The law of Ohio was read by the clerk at the request of Mr. Sawyer, to show that free negroes must give security for their good behaviour; and in default of this the township must eject them.) Four or five hundred of our citizens marched the negroes out, and gave cheers. We give you timely warning, negroes shall not come into our district. I proclaim to the world, the free negroes in the State of Ohio are ten times worse off than slaves in the slave States. The worst slaveholders do not degrade their slaves as much as free negroes are degraded in Ohio. The Abolitionists are not now what they were when they started out. Ten or fifteen years ago, when abolitionism took its rise, it was not so called, but was known as AMALGAMATION. If the accounts be true, it was said that all distinctions of colour should be swept away, and that "coloured" ladies and gentlemen should indiscriminately associate. (Laughter.) It was not uncommon to see a white lady leaning on a negro's arm in going to church. They sat there together, side by side. This was the case in the East, in New York and Boston. But that state of things was so revolting that it had to be abandoned. We are asked to let the negroes come into our States on an equality with the whites. Sir, our people will not submit to it. Do you suppose we will quietly fold our arms, and permit the slaveholders to send in among us their cast off negroes.

Mr. Hale in the Senate, introduced a resolution a short time ago, instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire into the propriety of taking such steps as will "secure to the coloured people" the rights of citizens in the free States. This means to let the negroes go to the polls to vote, to give them the privileges of the free schools, to testify in the courts of justice, to practise at the bar, and to occupy seats on the bench. I ask my friend from New York (Mr. Duer) what he means by introducing his resolution, instructing the Committee on the Public Lands to set apart a portion of the public lands for the use of the free people of colour; and when they reach a certain number, to give them the rights and powers usually granted to people in the territories? Now here is a proposition to establish a negro State. Gentlemen on that (the Whig) side of the House, refused to give poor white men; but here they went for a resolution having a tendency to allow negroes on this floor as representatives. [Laughter.] Such a State ought to be called after the gentleman's name.

Mr. *Duer*—Does the gentleman desire an answer?

Mr. *Sawyer*—Not now.

Mr. *Duer*—The gentleman grossly misrepresents.

The *Chairman*—Order! order!

Mr. *Sawyer*—I took the resolutions which I have read out of the *National Intelligencer* yesterday morning. If it is a misrepresentation, I am not responsible for it. I cut it out of a Whig paper, and I have read it as it now stands. It would not be long after you got free negroes there, that you would be asked to give them the privileges of white men. I ask free white men whether they are willing to submit to this?

I say to our Southern friends deliver to us the doughfaces; deliver them to our tender mercies. We Democrats of the West and of the Northwest will take care of our interests and of yours also. We keep our eyes on the old landmarks—on the letter of the Constitution. You have rights guaranteed to you in the South, and we in the West. You have one species of property and we another. We have been charged with being doughfaces; and gentlemen who make this charge not only go the doughface, but the doughhead. [Ha! ha! ha!] What is the meaning of doughface? I believe it is, that the dough being soft, can be pinched and made to exhibit any aspect you please. I believe that animal magnetism has been almost reduced to a science. The principle is, that, by touching a certain part of the cranium, certain effects are produced. If you touch one of the bumps of the doughhead, benevolence turns out for the negro; there is no sympathy for any other kind of person! [Ha! ha!] Touch another bump of the doughhead, and the doughface will go against every slaveholder for President; but when you touch another, the doughface will hurrah for old Zach Taylor, although he is a large slaveholder. [Laughter.] The profession and practice are at variance. These men make everything else bow to abolitionism. They never take into consideration that the slave States are the real Abolitionists, not in words, but in deeds. If they deserve anything, they deserve credit. Maryland has abolished more slaves than all the free States taken together. When Mr. McLean was in London, as our minister there, a meeting was gotten up, at which Maryland was taunted for holding slaves, and the fact was cited that Mr. McLean was a slaveholder. But they never thought to tell another fact, that Mr. McLean emancipated all his slaves in a philanthropic and Christian spirit. I believe that this Mr. McLean is the father of the gentleman of that name on this floor. Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, have of their free will, emancipated more slaves than all the other States since the formation of the Government. Maryland emancipated to the extent of sixty-six or seventy millions of dollars. While England, with her friends here, are condemning the Southern States for their doctrines on the subject of Slavery, they forget that we owe the institution of Slavery to England herself. I say without hesitation, that the Abolitionists are the worst foes the negroes have. If they be really the friends of the slave, do they take the proper steps to emancipate them? No. They rivet more firmly the fetters of bondage. Let the subject alone. If the negroes are a nuisance, the Southern people will find it out. Some of the States, now slave, would be free, if it had not been for the impertinent interference of the Abolitionists. ("That's a fact!") (After some further remark, Mr. Sawyer said that he would write out his speech at large on this point, and that he would not be sparing in circulating it.)

Mr. *Duer* spoke loudly and rapidly, but owing to our position in the Hall, the voice was broken into fragments by the reverberations, before it came round to our desk. He was understood to say—The gentleman from Ohio alluded to the proposition I submitted some days since. For aught I know, he correctly read the resolution; but he misrepresented its object. The gentleman was also pleased to make some remarks personal to myself. He is not a person of that class—

The *Chairman*—The Chair would remind the gentleman that anything personal is not in order.

Mr. *Duer*—I am not aware of having said anything offensive.

The *Chairman*—I thought so.

Mr. *Duer*—The gentleman says that my proposition looked to a state for the blacks, with their representatives on this floor. I introduced no such proposition. I offered a resolution designed to give territory to blacks, where they could live by themselves, and, when their number reached a certain point, they should have certain powers granted to the people of the territories. I never designed to incorporate them as a State of the Union. It is a misrepresentation or a misconception. I think the gentleman said that while we are willing to give lands to blacks, we refused to give lands to the poor white man. Now, I took occasion, at a previous period, to say that I was willing to grant lands to free white persons, on certain conditions. The gentleman remarked that he and his friends would stand on the banks of the Ohio, and with musket and bayonet would prevent free negroes from coming among them. From such people I would protect the blacks. The regret is that they now have no home. Will you not permit these wretched creatures to live somewhere? For the purpose of affording them a home, I introduced the humane proposition. I don't know whether the gentleman referred to me when he spoke of doughfaces. When you ask what the word means, you must not come to Northern men. It was a Southern man who first made use of the term. I did not so apply the term, because all Northern men do not agree with me on the subject of Slavery and the Wilmot Proviso. I don't say therefore, that they are doughfaces. To vote for General Taylor involves no inconsistency. What is the difference between the opinions which Cass entertains and those which are entertained by General Taylor. While Zachery Taylor is under no pledges with regard to the Wilmot Proviso, Cass is pledged to veto any act to prohibit Slavery in the territories. I think there can be an honourable understanding between the North and the South, viz: to let all speak and think for themselves.

MR. VAN BUREN'S ACCEPTANCE.—The *Albany Atlas* says, that it is able to say, upon the best authority, that Mr. Van Baren will not "interpose any further obstacles" to the course adopted by his friends in his nomination. This is understood as an acceptance of that nomination.

MR. VAN BUREN ON FREE SOIL.

Correspondence with the Radical Delegates to Baltimore from this State.

Letter of the New-York Delegates.

NEW-YORK, June 16, 1848.

HON. MARTIN VAN BUREN, ex-President of the United States.

SIR:—The undersigned, Delegates appointed by several of the Assembly Districts of the city and county of New-York, to represent said District in the Democratic State Convention, to be held at Utica on the 22d instant, complying with their own feelings and with those of their constituents, find it necessary to address you on a question of great moment, which may be expected to come before the proposed Convention.

This assembly, as you are aware, has been convoked in consequence of the arbitrary and insulting exclusion by the National Convention lately held at Baltimore, of the Delegates regularly appointed to represent the Democracy of this State in that Convention, from any effectual vote or voice in its deliberation, for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of their constituents in regard to that measure, and of recommending, should they think fit so to do, candidates for the office of President and Vice-President.

If the Convention shall decide to make such nominations, our own eyes, and, as we believe, those of the whole body, will instinctively be turned to you, as the Democratic Statesman best qualified by talent and experience as well as by the purity and soundness of your political principles, to receive the first of these nominations. The great Jeffersonian doctrine, now boldly repudiated at the South, and by too many tamely surrendered at the North, that Slavery, or involuntary servitude, should not, by any action of the Federal Government, be extended to the Free Territories of this Union, deserves, in connection with other and time-honoured doctrines of the Democratic party, to be represented by a standard-bearer of the highest encomium for ability and worth, and such an one you will permit us to say, we shall present in you, should we be authorized to name you as a candidate, for the consideration of the Convention.

We are not insensible to the many reasons which may properly induce you to forbid any such use of your name. Having filled with the highest honour, the first station in the Republic, and being now retired from the political arena, you may be unwilling to be drawn from the great and useful pursuits which occupy your attention, for the purpose of being again involved in the strifes of party. We remember that in your noble letter to the Democracy of this city, in June 1844, in which you gave to Messrs. Polk and Dallas so cordial and so generous a support—a support which so greatly contributed to their election—you declared in reference to this nomination, and to the position in which it had placed you, that your political career had forever closed.

We know, too, that you have neither done anything yourself, nor countenanced anything in others, to vary this position, and that you lately refused to the Delegates of this State, in the event of their reception by the Baltimore Convention, permission to use your name as a candidate before that body.

Under these circumstances, and unwilling to embarrass one who has always, while in the political field, stood ready to place himself at the disposal of his friends, we do not feel ourselves at liberty to insist upon a compliance with our wishes to the extent that we might, under other circumstances, have been induced to do.

We are, moreover, sure that you will naturally weigh the many and grave considerations which belong to the subject, and decide in a spirit of liberality to your friends and justice to yourself. Should you feel yourself required to adhere to your previously expressed determination not again to be made a candidate, we earnestly hope you will not withhold from us your opinions and views, as well as in regard to the action of the Baltimore Convention, and the obligations, whether of duty or expediency, resting on the Democracy of New-York, toward the nominations made by that body, and the course proper, in the present crisis, to be pursued by the Democracy of New-York as to the great issue before the country—the Extension of Slavery to Territories now Free.

We are, Sir,

Very respectfully and sincerely, your friends

[*Signed by the Delegates.*]

Reply of Mr. Van Buren.

LINDENWALD, June 20, 1848

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your kind letter, with feelings of no ordinary character. It comes from the representatives of a body of men, who possess unsurpassed claims upon my respect and gratitude. My reception by the lion-hearted Democracy of your great city, after my defeat in 1840, was marked by circumstances, and displayed a depth of friendship which I can never forget. It made impressions upon my heart which are vivid now as they were then, and which will never lose their hold upon my affections until that heart ceases to beat. It is not in my nature to decline a compliance with any request which such men are capable of making, except for reasons of the strongest character, and which they themselves will, on further consideration, approve. The determination announced in 1844, in my letter to the New York Committee, advising my friends to unite in the support of Mr. Polk, to regard my public life as forever closed, was made upon the most mature reflection, and with an inflexible determination to adhere to it to the end. I beg of you to do me the justice to believe that it was in no degree influenced by that spirit of resentment which political disappointments are apt to engender in the best regulated minds. Having been defeated during a highly excited, and as the result has shown, an unsound state of the public mind, for adhering to a financial policy which I believed to be right, the Democratic masses everywhere, as soon as it became evident that the country had recovered from the delusions of the day, resolved, with extraordinary unanimity, that the policy which had been so successfally decried should be vindicated, and the justice of the people illustrated by my reëlection.

This decision of the masses was reversed by their representatives in the Convention. More than compensated for any mortification which my discomfiture in 1840 had occasioned by these expressions of confidence and regard, proceeding directly from the people themselves, and anxious above all things for the success of the measures for which I have been so unsparingly arraigned, I forebore to scan either the motives by which my opponents in the Convention of '44 were actuated, or the means they resorted to for the accomplishment of their object, and united with zeal and alacrity in support of the Democratic candidate.

But while thus in good faith discharging what I regard to be my duty, it did not fail to occur to me that the circumstances by which I was surrounded, presented the occasion I had long desired, when I could retire from public life, consistently with what was due to the country, to my friends, and to my own self-respect. I embraced it with my whole heart. From that day to the present, my mind has not for a moment wavered in regard to the determination then announced. At an early period in the present canvass, and before the Democratic mind could be regarded as having taken anything like a distinct direction in reference to its candidate, I affirmed my resolution in this regard in a letter to a worthy citizen of Pennsylvania, which has been extensively published, and in many others with which it was not deemed necessary to trouble the public. A friendly application from our delegates to the last National Convention, for authority to use my name as a candidate, if they could do so under proper circumstances, made it as you appear to be informed, my unpleasant duty to refuse my consent to their doing so under any circumstances whatever. Having thus assumed and so long occupied this position, I trust to your friendship and past indulgence to be excused for repeating my unchangeable determination never again to be a candidate for public office. The fact of my having long since retired from public life, with tacit approbation of my friends gives me a right to say so. If, while in the political field, willing to receive honour and advancement at the hands of my political friends, I did not show myself at all times ready to obey, without regard to personal consequences, their calls to posts of difficulty, I failed to make myself understood by those whom I was most anxious to serve.

The considerations to which I have adverted, are not entitled to the same controlling influence in regard to the remaining subject of your letter. Whatever would be my preferences in such matters on ordinary occasions, I felt that I could not, under existing circumstances, refuse to comply with your request without doing injustice to my Democratic friends in this State. I shall, therefore, give you my unreserved opinions upon the questions to which you have called my attention, and in doing so I shall endeavour to observe that respect and courtesy toward the conflicting views of others, which it has always been my desire to practice, and which it is now more than ever appropriate to my position.

To give the doings of a Democratic National Convention a claim upon the support of the Democracy of any State, it is indispensably necessary that the Democracy of the State should be fairly represented in such Convention, and allowed equal rights and privileges with their political brethren from other States in regulating its proceedings. Neither of these, although perseveringly demanded, was conceded by the recent Convention of the Democracy of New York, and they are of course in no degree concluded by its decisions. But although their rights and their duties are thus clear, it is, notwithstanding, material to the fraternal relations which have heretofore existed between them and those who composed the Convention, that it should be distinctly shown at whose door lies the wrong of their exclusion; whether at that of our own Delegation or of the Convention. Upon this point both sets of Delegates claiming to represent New York, although differing in almost everything else, appear to have concurred in the opinion that the action of the Convention had been such as to put it out of their power to participate in its proceedings, without a total disregard of what was due as well to their own honour as to the honour and just rights of their State. It was therefore but reasonable to expect that here, at least, the opinion against the slightest obligation on the part of the Democracy of New York to sustain the doings of the Convention, would be universal. To find either set of the Delegates who claimed to represent New York in that Convention, or their friends who approved of their conduct, casting reproach upon their opponents for not sustaining the decision of a body, of whose action in regard to their own State they had respectively formed and expressed the opinion to which I have adverted, must, it seems to me, be regarded as a very extraordinary occurrence in politics.

It was plainly the duty of the Committee on Credentials, to examine into the facts and report their opinion upon the conflicting claims referred to them. It is an indispensable fact that, instead of doing so they required an unqualified pledge from both sets of the Delegates from New York, that they would support the nominee of the Government, whoever he might be, and resolved that without a compliance with this arbitrary exaction they would not even look into the merits of their respective claims.

Now, when it is considered that no such pledge was required in any previous National Democratic Convention from any person—that at one of them the Delegates from an entire State (Virginia) were permitted to announce their determination in advance not to support a certain nomination, if it should be made, without causing a question to be raised in regard to their seats in the Convention, and that they carried such refusal into full effect, without subjecting themselves or their State to the reproaches of their association in other States—that this very Convention contained, without dispute as to their eligibility, Delegates from several States who could not enter into such pledge, without violating the instructions of their constituents, and whose intentions not to enter into it were not concealed—that the Convention itself had previously and expressly refused to oppose such a pledge upon its members, and that on the very Committee which so imperiously demanded it from the New York Delegates, there were members who openly denounced its exaction as an outrage—declared their utter unwillingness to take it themselves, and who, also, were nevertheless recognized as eligible and fit members of the Convention—when these things are considered, is it possible that any right-minded citizen among us can fail to regard this treatment of the New York Delegates as an indignity to them, and to their State, of the rankest character? If it is our misfortune to live in a community with whom it is necessary to resort to argument to prove this, whose minds do not rush to that conclusion at the mere presentation of the subject, it is of very little importance to us what is said or done in a Democratic Convention. Others may think differently, and I have neither the right nor the disposition to become their accusers. But speaking for myself, and for myself only, I do not hesitate to say that the Representatives of the Radical Democracy in this State were entirely right in their appreciation of the treatment they received, and in the course they adopted. Were I to advise them or those whom they represented, to any steps which would indicate the slightest insensibility on their part to the degrading distinction that was applied to them, I should, in my best judgment, be counseling them to the act of political dishonour, by which they would justly forfeit the respect of all upright minds. God forbid that I should be induced, by any considerations, to leave my memory exposed to the imputation of having made so poor a return for a whole life of public favours received at their hands.

The Committee carried out their designs to the extent of their power, and the question occurs: Did the Convention itself relieve your Delegates or yourselves from the injustice of their Committee? Most sincerely do I wish that I could think so. But is that possible? That the differences between the two Delegations were irreconcilable was apparent to that body; nor was there room for a moment's doubt that at least one of the Delegations would not attempt to represent the State, unless her right to do so exclusively was examined and decided by the Convention, and it had not yet become too late for the Convention to do its duty in the matter, when it appeared that the resolution not to take their seats was common to both Delegations. There was then no other way in which the difficulty could be properly disposed of, than by examining into and deciding upon the conflicting claims before them. The unavoidable result of failing to do so was to cause the proceedings of the Convention to be regarded as without authority in New York. The expedient of admitting both Delegations might do well enough in a case where the difference between them was not one of principle, and where both parties finally assented to the arrangement, but was wholly inapplicable to the one under consideration. The matter was nevertheless so disposed of. New York was allowed a double representation, with the inevitable and well-understood consequence, that she should not have a single effective vote upon the proceedings of the Convention whose decisions she is now called upon to sustain. Your Delegates claimed the exclusive right to represent the Democracy of this State in the Convention, and offered to maintain their title thereto before that body by documentary proof. Their claim was rejected, and on what ground? Not certainly on the ground that they were unable to sustain it, for their credentials and proofs were returned to them unopened, and the Convention itself did not profess to put the rejection of their demand on any such ground; and yet that was the only ground on which, if well founded, their claim could be properly overruled. It is not to be disguised that the belief that your Delegates were refused admission on the ground of the opinions entertained by their constituents upon the question of the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories, is very general in this State. The course of proceeding adopted by the Convention renders it not a little difficult to define with precision for what particular reason the rejection of both sets of Delegates, by the nominal admission of both, was ordered. That many members were not influenced by the consideration referred to, I am well satisfied, while it is equally clear that the number of those who were there was neither small nor unimportant in character. Those who feel themselves constrained to believe that their Delegates were rejected from that cause cannot indeed but regard it as an extraordinary spectacle in the political field, to find their votes demanded for the nominee of a Convention, in the deliberations and discussions of which they were not deemed worthy of participation.

I cannot, under such circumstances, refrain from concurring with you in the opinion that the decisions of that Convention are in no degree binding upon the Democracy of this State, or entitled to any other weight in their estimation, than as an expression of the wishes and opinions of respectable portions of their political associates and friends in other States, qualified as their expression is by the acts by which it has been accompanied.

You desire also my views in regard to the prohibition by Congress, of Slavery in territories where it does not now exist, and they shall be given in a few words, and in a manner which will not, I hope, increase, if it does not diminish, the existing excitement in the public mind.

The illustrious founders of our Government were not insensible to the apparent inconsistency between the perpetuation of Slavery in the United States, and the principles of the Revolution, as delineated in the Declaration of Independence; and they were too ingenuous in their dispositions to attempt to conceal the impressions by which they were embarrassed. But they knew, also, that its speedy abolition in several of the States, was impossible, and its existence in all, without fault on the part of the present generation. They were also too upright, and the fraternal feelings which had carried them through the struggle for independence were too strong to permit them to deal with such a matter upon any other principles than those of liberality and justice. The policy they adopted, was to guarantee to the States in which Slavery existed, an exclusive control over the subject within their respective jurisdictions, but to prevent, by united efforts, its extension to territories of the United States in which it did not in fact exist.

On all sides the most expedient means to carry out this policy were adopted with alacrity and good feeling. Their first step was to interdict the introduction of Slavery into the North-western Territory, now covered by the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. This may justly be regarded as being, in the main, a Southern measure. The subject was first brought forward in Congress by Mr. Jefferson. Virginia made the cession of territory upon which the ordinance was intended to operate, and the Representatives from all slaveholding States gave it a unanimous support.—Doubts have arisen in the minds of some whether the Ordinance of 1787 was authorized by the articles of Confederation. A bill was introduced in the new Constitution, recognizing and adapting it to the new organization, and it has ever since been treated and regarded, as a valid act. This bill received the Constitutional approbation of President Washington, whose highest and sworn duty it was to support the Constitution under which it was enacted. Nor was the North backward in doing its part to sustain the policy which had been wisely adopted. They assented to the insertion of provisions in the Constitution necessary and sufficient to protect that interest in the States, and they did more.

The trouble apprehended at the commencement of the Government from this source, began to show itself as early as the year 1790, in the form of Petitions presented to Congress upon the subject of Slavery and the slave-trade by the Quakers of Philadelphia and New York, and by Dr. Franklin as President of a Society for the promotion of abolition. These petitions were, in the House of Representatives, referred to a Committee of seven, all but one of whom were Northern members whose report is amended in Committee of the Whole, affirmed "that Congress have no power to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them within any of the States, it remaining with the several States alone to provide any regulation therein which humanity and true policy might require."

The perseverance and good faith with which both branches of policy thus adopted have, until very recently, been recognized and carried out, are highly honourable to the whole country. The peculiar liability of the subject to be converted into an element of political agitation as well in the slaveholding as in the non-slaveholding States, may have led to occasional attempts so to employ it, but these efforts have been very successfully illustrated by the good sense and good feeling of the people in every quarter of the Union. A detailed account of the numerous acts of the Federal Government, sustaining and carrying into full effect the policy of its founders upon the subject of Slavery in the States, and its extension to the Territories, and the steps taken in the non-slaveholding States, to suppress or neutralize undue agitation in regard to it, would be alike instructive and honourable to the actors in them. But it will be readily perceived that this could not be given within the necessary limits of a communication like the present. It must therefore suffice to say that, from 1787, the date of the ordinance for the prevention of Slavery in the North-western Territory, down to and including 1838, at least eleven acts of Congress have been passed, organizing Territories which have since become States, in all of which the Constitutional power of Congress to interdict the introduction of Slavery into the Territories of the United States, is either directly exercised, or clearly asserted by enactments, which, as matters of authority, are tantamount to its exercise; and that at the only period when the peace of the slaveholding States was supposed to be seriously endangered by abolition agitation, there was a spontaneous uprising of the people of the North of both parties, by which agitation was paralyzed and the South reassured of our fidelity to the compromises of the Constitution.

In the laws for the organization of the territories which now constitute the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, Slavery was expressly prohibited. The laws for the organization of the Territories of Mississippi, Orleans, Arkansas, Alabama and Florida, containing enactments fully equivalent in regard to the extent of power in Congress over the subject of Slavery in the Territories to the express exercise of it in the other cases. These acts were approved by Presidents Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson and myself, all bound by our oaths of office to withhold our respective approvals from laws which we believed unconstitutional. If in the passage of these laws during a period of half a century, and under the administration of so many Presidents, there was anything like sectional divisions, or a greater or less participation in their enactment on the part of the Representatives of the slaveholding or of the non-slaveholding States, I am not apprized of it. I believe the plan devised by the founders of the Government, including the Fathers of our political Church, for the treatment of this great subject, and which has hitherto been so faithfully sustained, and which has proven so successful in preserving the Union of these States, to be not only the wisest which the wit of Man could have devised, but the only one consistent with the safety and prosperity of the whole country. I do therefore desire to see it continued so long as Slavery exists in the United States. The extent to which I have sustained it in the various public stations I have occupied is known to the country. I was at the time well aware that I went farther in this respect than many of my best friends could approve. But deeply penetrated by the conviction that Slavery was the only subject that could endanger our blessed Union, I was determined that no effort on my part, within the pale of the Constitution, should be wanting to sustain its compromises as they were then understood, and it is now a source of consolation to me that I pursued the course I then adopted.

The doctrine which the late Baltimore Convention has presented for the sanction of the Nation is, in substance, that the laws I have referred to were but so many violations of the Constitution—that this instrument confers no power on Congress to exclude Slavery from the Territories, as has so often been done with the assent of all. This doctrine is set forth in the published opinion of the highly respectable nominee of that Convention, who, it is well known, received that distinction because he avowed that opinion, and who, it is equally certain, would not have received it if he had not done so. It is proposed to give this doctrine the most solemn sanction known to our political system, by the election of its declared advocate and supporter to the Presidency. If it receives the proposed sanction of the people of the United States, the result cannot be doubtful. The policy in regard to the extension of Slavery to the Territories of the United States into which it has not yet been introduced, which has existed since the commencement of the Government, and the consequences of which have been so salutary must cease, and every act of Congress designed to carry it into effect be defeated by the Veto of the Executive.

The territories now owned by the United States and every acquisition of territory that may hereafter be made to the United States, whether obtained by annexation, by cession for a valuable consideration, or by conquest, must, as long as this opinion is held, and as far as the action of the National Legislature is concerned, be subject to the inroads of Slavery. And this consequence is to be submitted to on the assumption that the framers of the Constitution, with their attention directed to the subject, and with a well understood desire to do so, have failed to clothe Congress with the necessary powers to prevent it. I cannot with my vote contribute to this sanction. I cannot do so because I cannot concur in the opinion which we are called upon to sustain.

Entertaining these views of the Constitution, I could not by my vote contribute to the proposed sanction of this new principle in the administration of the Federal Government, without, at the same time, avowing myself to be in favour of the extension of Slavery, in the abstract, and this I can never do. Those who agree with me in regard to the existence of the power and the expediency of our exercising it, and can still bring their minds to dissent from this conclusion, must have more light upon the subject, or greater power of discriminating than I possess. I do therefore unhesitatingly approve of the course you propose to pursue, in withholding your votes from Governor Cass, and shall do so myself. If no other candidate than those now before the country be presented, I shall not vote for President. The manner in which our political brethren in other Non-Slaveholding States shall dispose of their suffrages, is for them to determine, and with it we have nothing to do. But that they accord with us in the opinion as to the existence of the power in question, and the expediency of exercising it whenever the occasion for so doing arrives, we have the best reasons to know.

The power, the existence of which is at this late day denied, is, in my opinion, fully granted to Congress by the Constitution. Its language, the circumstances under which it was adopted, the recorded explanations which accompanied its formation—the construction it has received from our highest judicial tribunals, and the very solemn and repeated confirmations it has derived from the measures of the Government—leave not the shadow of a doubt in my mind in regard to the authority of Congress to exercise the power in question. This is not a new opinion on my part, nor the first occasion on which it has been avowed. While the candidate of my friends for the Presidency, I distinctly announced my opinion in favour of the power of Congress to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, although I was, for reasons which were then and are still satisfactory to my mind, very decidedly opposed to its exercise there. The question of power is certainly as clear in respect to the Territories as it is in regard to that District; and as to the Territories my opinion was also made known in a still more solemn form, by giving the Executive approval required by the Constitution, to the bill for the organization of the Territorial Government of Iowa which prohibited the introduction of Slavery into that Territory.

The opinion from which we dissent was given in the face of, and directly contrary to the views expressed, in forms the most solemn and explicit, by all or nearly all the non-slaveholding States, and we are not at liberty to suspect the sincerity of these expressions. Honest and well meaning men, as we know the masses of our political friends in those States to be, are incapable of trifling with so grave a subject.

Our ancestors signalized the commencement of this glorious Government of ours, by rescuing from subjection to Slavery a Territory which is now covered by five great States and peopled by more than five millions of Freemen, in the full enjoyment of every blessing which industry and good institutions can confer. They did this when the opinions and conduct of the world in regard to the institution of Slavery were very different from what it is now.

They did so before Great Britain had even commenced those gigantic efforts for the suppression of Slavery, by which she has so greatly distinguished herself. After seventy four years' enjoyment of the sacred and invaluable right of self government, obtained for us by the valor and discretion of our ancestors, we, their descendants, are called upon to doom, or if that is too strong a word, to expose to the inroad of Slavery a territory capable of sustaining an equal number of new States to be added to our Confederacy—a territory in a great part of which Slavery has never existed in fact, and from the residue of which it has been expressly abolished by the existing Government. We are called upon to do this at a period when the minds of nearly all mankind have been penetrated by a conviction of the evils of Slavery, and are united in efforts for its suppression—at a moment, too, when the spirit of Freedom and Reform is everywhere far more prevalent than it has ever been, and when our Republic stands proudly forth as the great exemplar of the world in the science of Free Government.

Who can believe that a population like that which inhabits the non-slaveholding States, probably amounting to twelve millions, who by their own acts, or by the foresight of others, have been exempted from the evils of Slavery, can, at such a moment, be induced, by considerations of any description, to make a retrograde movement of a character so extraordinary and so painful? Such a movement would, in my view of the matter, and I say it with unfeigned deference to the conflicting opinions of others, bring reproach upon the influence of free institutions, which would delight the hearts and excite the hopes of the advocates of arbitrary power throughout the world.

Holding these opinions you have duties to perform as important as they are delicate. In the first place, you should adhere inflexibly to your opinions, as long as you believe them to be right, and no longer. This you will do. In the next place you should present your views in regard to them, clearly and distinctly, but firmly, to your political brethren of the slaveholding States, with a full statement of the reasons on which they are founded, that those reasons may be controverted if they are not sound. This you have done. In other important respects your positions are unassailable. The movement to advance the principle you desire to promote was commenced in the right place, though, perhaps, not at the most desirable moment, and was not accompanied by partisan measures or founded on political designs of any description, as far as I know or have reason to believe. If I understand your course, your delegates went to the Convention prepared to accept the nomination of any sound Democrat, who had not actually submitted to a test which implicated the well known and repeatedly expressed opinion of your State, without interrogating him in regard to his opinion on this particular question. In taking the ground, you pursued the only course by which the Democratic party of the Union, as hitherto organized, can be perpetuated; and just and fair minded men of the party everywhere will, when the present excitement has passed away, approve your conduct. One thing more, and your whole action will, in the end, attract the attention and enlist the good feeling of all just and generous minds. Let your farther proceedings in this whole matter be distinguished by moderation and forbearance.

Injustice must be resisted—indignities repelled;—and all this can be done, with decency and without impeachment of the motive of whole communities, on account of the conduct of individuals. The situation of your political brethren in the slaveholding States, is not as favourable to calm discussion and dispassionate consideration as yours, and more will therefore, in this respect, be expected at your hands. If your differences must continue, do you at least sustain your views, without vituperation or unnecessary excitements of any description. Exemplify your firmness and your confidence in the justice of your cause, by the best of all tests—the dignity and moderation with which you uphold it. When the election is over, and Reason resumes her empire, the ground which has been taken by your Southern brethren will be reviewed with calmness, and if found to be untenable, you are bound to believe that it will be abandoned. If in this you are disappointed, it will still be a consolation to know that you have done nothing unnecessarily, which could serve to exasperate alienations which may then become incurable.

Accept, gentlemen, my warmest acknowledgments for the obliging expressions contained in your letter, and believe me to be Your friend,

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

To Messrs. Samuel Waterbury, David Dudley Field, and others, New York.

Communications.

First Congregational Methodist Church, Brooklyn, and the Coloured Boy.

The readers of the *Standard* are probably already in possession of the circumstances which gave birth to the above named church, *i. e.*, the tyranny of the M. E. Conference of New York last year, in the case of Mr. Green, pastor of the Centenary Church, and the firm stand made by the members against the unwarrantable power of the Episcopacy. It will be remembered, also, that they have removed from their house to another until the law shall finally decide its destination, and have recently opened a new house of worship.

I attended the church on this latter occasion in company with other Wesleyans, and listened with attention to the dedication sermon delivered by Mr. G. and was much pleased with it, especially with his declaration that as "*Mr. Wesley was opposed to Slavery*, so ARE WE." Having placed my three younger children in their sabbath school in the morning, I now became determined to give a good deal of my time and attention to their interest.

In connection with the Wesleyan Church in this city, we had a Sunday school which was dissolved last May. Some coloured children attended and were placed in classes according to their ability, without respect to caste or colour. My children were interested in them, and introduced one to the superintendant of the school in connection with Mr. G's Church, who gave his consent to have him brought to the school. On the following Sabbath, therefore, he attended the school, and sat with my eldest son during church service. Many prominent members, were, to all appearances, much pleased to see him there. Yet strange as it may appear, after calm deliberation, my son (who is a teacher) was commissioned with a message to the parents, saying it was thought advisable that he should go to a coloured school for the present.

While they were struggling against ecclesiastical usurpation, they shared in the sympathy of the Wesleyans, but the late event is not much calculated to raise them in the estimation of the lovers of genuine Christianity. I should nevertheless be sorry to impute to Mr. Green anything of an intention to mislead his hearers when he said "*Mr. Wesly was opposed to Slavery*, so ARE WE."

The standard of Mr. Wesley's Anti-Slavery principles was that Slavery is the sum of all villainies. Now did Mr. G. believe his congregation viewed it as such? If he did he is not to blame for what he said; but if they did not believe it to be the sum of all villainies, he was unjustifiable, and, in my opinion, betrays an ignorance which is almost unpardonable in any minister.

I admit there are some Anti-Slavery men in the church, but it is Anti-Slavery in the abstract, and so far as *action* goes is no more than sounding brass or a tinkling symbol. It really seems strange to me that men, after nobly grappling with the powers, that he should thus wantonly thrust this unoffending boy from their school. I have seen this rather attractive child attend a Wesleyan Sunday school for a year, and I unhesitatingly say, a better conducted little fellow I have never seen, and if I mistake not very much, he gives evidence of as sound an intellect as the majority of those in the school from which he was expelled, for no other cause but that the great father of the human family chose to give him a skin a little—and only a little—darker than those with whom he was associated.

But the church has gone further than this even. Two Sabbaths since a Wesleyan Methodist offered to attend the school and teach a class of coloured children, placing his own—a white child—among them. The admission of coloured children, it was thought, would injure the peace of the church, and the offer was refused!

J. KILLETT.

Letter from Isaac J. Rice.

AMHERSTBURG, June 10th, 1848.

We once made a few remarks relating to the treatment of coloured children in this province, who might wish the priviliges of a Common School education, and are sorry to make farther allusion to the subject. Our remarks do not apply to the entire Province, for in some portions men are treated as such by men generally, and especially by those holding the position of Executives of law. It is not so in this section, nor in some other portions of the Province. We are sorry to report that the Refugee's Home is one continued scene of oppression Its effects are too deleterious to be concealed or borne. Ever since the passing of the school bill enacting Government aid to educate the youth of the Province, the coloured man, the long oppressed bondman, has stood at the Common School door and begged the privilege of equal rights, of equal participation in common aid. In giving reasons for equal privileges, the ever-wronged slave can state that British law knows all men, is not partial, disregards complexion; and could likewise say, we are taxed according to our property equally with others. The reply is: we know you as *taxable* men, but further you cannot receive equal regard. You are black. We or our children cannot associate with you on any terms. We have nothing against you, but go away. We have a counsellor chosen from each township. These manage school matters, lay off districts, apportion school funds, and do all that is done. The school law is like all British law, impartial. Now I am sorry to state that these officers of Government contravene law, letter and spirit. I am sorry that George Thompson and other great hearts in the British Government, should learn that laws are not always righteously executed here.

We are exceedingly sorry that the heart of Britain does not act with sufficient force to secure healthy circulation through all the parts. The school districts have usually been laid off to suit the prejudiced. In one township the coloured school division extended all over the township, and was called No 4, while it was also laid out into regular districts for the whites. The rates of citizens have also been taken, by colour and separately. The coloured citizens have in some townships been disregarded and not allowed to vote. Illegal schools are allowed to appropriate Government funds, that is, schools from which a portion of the district is proscribed. A coloured family of five children may live within sight of the school room, yet are strictly forbidden to enter. In Sandwich the coloured parents took their children when forbidden, and the teachers and white scholars retired. In the village of Amherstburgh the coloured children were driven with threats from school, and from another very urgently, and the reason was, the trustees forbid their coming. So said the teacher. Finding themselves shut out, the coloured still got a school, but could not have Government funds. The proscriptive school took the funds, took the coloured people's taxes to educate white children. A letter went to the head superintendant, who confessed it wrong, but has never seen it righted.

Why will not the Home Government see to this matter: give special instruction to the Governors to see justice done? Cannot circulars be issued which shall strengthen the coloured people of the province? Will not some at home notice this matter and make the shame prominent before the British mind?

ISAAC J. RICE.

Missionary among the Fugitives.

Slave Products.

FRIEND GAY:—I have read with interest the article of your Boston correspondent giving us an account of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention. I admire the zeal of New England Abolitionists, so far as it is according to knowledge. I rejoice in all their truthful labours of love for outraged and oppressed humanity. commend their moral courage and decision of purpose, in their glorious conflict with the selfish hosts which array themselves against the common brotherhood of humanity. With them my imperfect advocacy and efforts for the deliverance of the wretched slave commenced, my heart and voice mingled with theirs in their blessed cause of righteousness and love. My prayers still ascend with theirs that our labour may not be in vain in the Lord.

Our motto has been, and still is, "Onward." I admit that there has been some corresponding progress; but we have not yet attained the ultimate of our duty; neither (are we) already perfect." The cause we advocate, our own professions, and our own consistency imperiously demand of us other means and other sacrifices. Alas, my brother, that with all we are doing for the slave, the great body of Abolitionists are uniting with his oppressors in presenting the chief inducement to protract the miseries of wretched men by furnishing the profit which is the vital support of the iniquitous system!

I beg leave to ask the members of the Convention how it came to pass that when the "watch word, "No union with slaveholders," was before the Convention for consideration, there was no friend of the slave faithful enough to put the question to the consciences of the assembly: have we carried out the watch word in our own practice? My friend Pierpont's literary eye has discovered that it lacks a "*verb.*" I wish that his kind heart had made the more important discovery that it lacks *truthfulness*. How, I ask, can Abolitionists throw out this banner to Freedom's breeze, while the majority of them are maintaining that commercial union with slaveholders which constitutes the basis, not only of slaveholding but of slave trading and slave stealing. There are thousands of oppressors who care naught for any other union so long as we will continue this. For this they rivet the galling chain. For this they inflict the agonizing stripe. If the continual voluntary purchase and use of slave products is "no union with slaveholders," I should be glad to be informed what is a union with them.

Has not your correspondent misunderstood my esteemed and eloquent friend Phillips in representing him as affirming "that there *never had been* any divisions among Abolitionists, and that those who follow not us are not Abolitionists. Verily I think that my friend may be "an old fashioned Calvinist," and have more charity than this, of that charity, too, which "rejoiceth not in iniquity" but "in the truth." I protest against the bigotry of sectarian theology which denies the Christian character of all who cannot subscribe in toto to its creed. I protest against the bigotry of abolitionism. Men who err in judgment respecting some measures or means to promote the good cause, may, on the whole, be more decided, self denying, active and efficient Abolitionists, than others whose judgments are more enlightened and correct. Some of the new organizationists "went out from us," not "because they were not of us" *in respect to the radical principles of abolitionism*, but because they conscienciously differed in respect to some of the adopted measures of the Society. They are labouring in the same cause. "Forbid them not for he that is not against us is for us." If, however, we "are the men" for the times, it is hoped that neither "wisdom" nor abolitionism will die with us.

HENRY GREW.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1848.

Sympathy with Ireland.

If there be anything remarkable in human sympathy—(and generally we cannot say that we see anything very remarkable in it)—it is the distance at which it loves to exert itself. It becomes more intense in proportion as its object is farther off. Thousands of persons let their own souls get shockingly out at elbows, while they are busy sending spiritual tailors to cut and make garments of righteousness for the inhabitants of countries where it is the countries where it is the fashion to wear nothing but the original skin.

The last spasms of sympathy with which the public mind has been agitated have been somewhat inconsistent, one with another. We are asked to sympathize with the Yucatecos against whom the native race has risen in insurrection, and with the Irish who are preparing for a similar proceeding against their conquerors. The aboriginal tribes who inhabited the southern portion of this continent had reached a state of culture compared to which any point in the history of Ireland before its conquest is absolute barbarism. Their moments compares not unfavourably with those of ancient Egypt, which, if not the mother of religion, art, and learning, was certainly the channel through which they flowed from East to West. It is true that the Central Americans sacrificed human victims, but so did the Romans, and the Irish, even yet, offer up a landlord now and then. We ourselves have three men now in jail at Washington waiting to be immolated on the altar of our National Moloch.

But we did not mean to draw any parallel between the Central Americans and the Irish. We merely intended to say that as far as could be judged by the past, they were the more capable of the two of an independent existence. We believe in the capacity of every race for self-government, but we are now endeavouring to look at the matter from that point of view which men commonly take. The question, as we shall presently show, has several analogies which are interesting to Abolitionists. We wish to compare the claims of the Irish with certain other claims which concern us more nearly.

The miserable condition of Ireland is first of all invariably attributed to the fact of her being a conquered country. But this will not serve, for England was also conquered, and by the very same race. However, the question for us is not what has made Ireland what she is nor whether she would gain by a separation from England, but whether we can consistently sympathise with her present efforts at regeneration.

Can we who have entered into a compact to suppress any attempt at insurrection on the part of an enslaved race beside whose sufferings the condition of the Irish seems heaven itself, can we throw the first stone at England? If Nat Turner was wrong can John Mitchel be right? We Americans are unfortunately situated.—It will not do for us to follow the natural impulse of our hearts. We must look carefully round us before we

undertake to encourage attemps at liberty. While we sympathise with treason abroad, must we not logically encourage it at home? We are so thoroughly compromised about, that we are suspicious of a "miching mallcho which means mischief" in all kinds of humanity.

There are many things in Mr. Mitchel's course which no sensible man could approve of, many which would shock a humane one. However ardent and sincere may have been his love of country, it is plain that his vision was bounded by the the walls of the United Irishman office. The French Revolution seems to have turned his brain. He became persuaded that a Government might be as easily overthrown by a riot in a provincial town, as by the rebellion of a metropolis whose ideas to a greater or less degree shaped those of an entire country. His tirades against "the Saxon" were not only childish, but bore conclusive evidence of a mind not at all alive to the hopes and demands of the Age. A professed reformer who endeavours to reëxcite the antipathies of race must be so far either a fool or a hypocrite. This is the game of the tyrant, not of the patriot. It has been by means of these antipathies, the growth of barbarous and bloody times, that the greatest national crimes have been perpetrated, and the foulest national oppressions sustained.

Neither can we sympathize with Mr. Mitchel in his appeal to arms. Setting aside the question of its morality, it was unwise. Matters are wonderfully simplified for a Government when the demand for the redress of grievances is removed from the region of ideas to that of physical force. The oppressor can argue best with the cannon and the bayonet. The pike cannot reach him, though it be, as Mr. Mitchel advised on the end of a good ashen pole ten feet long. But invincible Thought overleaps the wall of the fortress, and reaches him through the serried ranks of his guards. A thousand chances may bring about the defeat of the rebel, which would have been the allies of the peacful reformer. It is hard fighting with ideas. The reformer is in league with them, but the rebel sets them in array against himself. He has to contend against the ideas of social order, of Government, and many more whose hold upon men's minds, naturally strong, has been tightened by invariable prescription. The *habit* of oppression can only be gradually conquered. It strengthens itself against a sudden and violent attack. The rebel, too, has set in motion forces which he cannot guide or control. The degraded ignorance of the oppressed which affords an unanswerable argument against the tyrant, may be hurried into crimes which will be laid to the charge of freedom. The English hated and feared O'Connel, but they laughed at Mitchel.

We were not among those who were shocked at the *kind* of weapons recommended by Mr. Mitchel and his friends. If the necessity of violence be once granted, we do not see much to choose, on the score of morality betweeen bayonets and brickbats, prussic acid and powder. The object being to knock your enemy on the head, we cannot perceive any moral distinction between the staff of a pike and the butt of a musket. We believe God to be fully as well pleased with broken bottles as with grapeshot. The more savage war can be made to appear, the better. It is only sentimentalism which sees any difference between the medal voted by Congress and hung in the General's parlor, and the dried scalps ratling on the end of a pole at the door of the wigwam.

We cannot understand how those who admit the necessity of any kind of government based upon physical force, can object to the trial and sentence of Mr. Mitchel. The question of his being abstractly right or wrong we have nothing to do with now. As far as the English Government was concerned he was unquestionably guilty. He asked for force, and he got it. He was bold enough to risk the hazard of the game, and the throw has been against him. He should have remembered that the Government played with loaded dice.

We are willing to forgive everything to the exasperation which the condition of his unhappy country must have produced in a mind constitutionally inflammable. We believe him to have been sincere and devoted, though mistaken, and as such he deserves our deepest commiseration. We may take this position consistently as individuals, but as Americans we must be dumb. What has Mr. Mitchel done that we should give to him the sympathy which we deny to Sayres, Drayton, and English? The act which led to their imprisonment was a more disinterested one than any for which he can claim credit. If they had succeeded, they could not possibly have expected any reward but the approval of their own consciences. With Mr. Mitchel the case was different. It was something to be the spokesman of a disaffected people; a successful rebellion would have made him their chief.

If there be any reason for our encouraging rebellion in Ireland, we ought, *à fortiori* to promote insurrection among our slaves. Still more strongly would logical necessity compel us to foment it among the inhabitants of the provinces we have just conquered from Mexico. The English Government is fully as humane, as wise, and as just as our own. The social system of one half of our own country is worse than that of England. Our Government devotes itself to the extension and perpetuation of this system, while that of England is taking steps towards reform. Those among us who bear a constant and outspoken testimony against American sins may be allowed to speak of English ones. One nation may oppress a white race and the other a black one, but tyranny is of one complexion all the world over.

Some enthusiastic spirits are desirous that our Government should interfere; others that an expedition should be fitted out for the rescue of Mitchel. There is not the slightest chance that Government will do the one, or allow the other. Slavery is too cunning to put its ugly head into the mouth of the British lion. If any private persons are anxious to get up an expedition for the rescue of imprisoned martyrs for the cause of freedom, they can direct it towards the jail at Washington with more propriety and consistency than against the hulks at Bermuda.

J. R. L.

A SOUTHERNER AND A SLAVEHOLDER'S LETTER.—The following letter has been put at our disposal, and we know of no better use to make of it, than to lay it before our readers, as a new instance of the kind of freedom of the press we enjoy in the Model Republic. The letter was addressed to Mr. Honeywell, the editor of the *Eagle*, a well-conducted and liberal paper published in this city. The postmark upon it was so blurred that we can only make out the State whence it came—Georgia:

DEAR SIR:—Yankee impudence is proverbial. Recklessness must be at a high premium, and brain out of the market, when a man will attempt as you have done, to swindle the people out of a subsistence, by telling them that it is one of his objects "to obtain an honest living." It is, indeed, remarkable, if anything a pickpocket could do, could excite surprise, that you—one of the thousands of scoundrels called Abolitionists,—for you—a liar, a swindler, a dissembler, a hypocrite, a poor, unprincipled puppy, that do n't know what it is barking at, and a mean, low, paltry, drivelling jilt, to take such grounds in your New York Eagle, and then send it south of Yankeedom.

You thought you were thundering out a glorious Phillipic, against our Institution of Slavery, in your paper of the 3d of June, under the head, "Thy will be done"—but it turned out to be a poor, contemptible, pitiful production, emanating from a Yankee's imagination, whose most remarkable characteristic is, innate rascality and envy.

Oh, God! If there be grades in hell, how low, awfully low, must that man be put, who would steal my money, under the guise of humanity—and break through one of Heaven's own Institutions, to arrive at this result.

Keep your paper at home, or come to Georgia and circulate it. Then, under an indictment for circulating a paper of an insurrectionary nature, you will meet your end on a gallows, where, I dare say, all of your ancestry have met it, not for abolitionism, but for stealing. And if this be true, a worthy son you are! Far from defiling their sacred ashes with *honesty*, you, quite an imitative lad, are following on in the thieving track, only on a broader scale.

Farewell, Sir—may you arrive at the highest proficiency in roguery, and as a reward for it, after the gallows shall have claimed you and all your lineal descendants, may the following couplet especially apply to you all:

> That thieving, sneaking, Honey-well
> Has done, been hanged and is in Hell,

is my prayer for Christ's sake.

SOUTHERNER & SLAVEHOLDER.

Henry Grew's Letter.

We never refuse a well-written communication touching the subject of Slavery, whatever may be its character, because we advocate and mean to maintain the liberty of speech in its broadest sense. We hold, however, that it would have been no lack of courtesy, and no infringement upon the right of speech on that subject to which this paper is devoted, had we rejected the letter of our friend Mr. Grew, which we publish in another column. It may, indeed, seem to be rather a want of courtesy to say that we think the letter characterized rather by a love of fault-finding, than a love of the cause, and that it is calculated, so far as it may have any influence, to do nothing but mischief; but we believe so. Perhaps our friend would rather we had suppressed the letter than speak of it thus, but as we recognize his and others' right to be heard in our columns, so we maintain it for ourself.

The letter however needs no very long comment. We might simply express our regret at the apparently carping spirit of the writer, and our surprise at this novel exhibition from one whom we know to be a most sincere and devoted friend of the slave's cause, and who, we have always thought, looked to and dwelt upon, the important points of agreement between him and others on this great question, rather than by petty points of difference. But we wish also to point out how striking an instance the letter is of that "bigotry" which it is intended to reprove.

There was not in the New England Convention, Mr. Grew thinks, a "faithful" or "truthful" friend of the slave; for there was not one present "faithful" enough to proclaim the most important principle—in his opinion—of Anti-Slavery; while all were declaring their belief in a watch-word in the application of which, as he believes, they are unfaithful. This severe rebuke Mr. Grew administers to the New England Abolitionists because they do not recognize his standard of Anti-Slavery duty as the highest; and many of them, because of its impracticableness, do not recognize it as a duty at all. Certainly he is right in rebuking them, if he thinks they deserve it, albeit the rebuke is written on a sheet of cotton-slave-labour paper. But we demur at the charge of untruthfulness, when after all, the difference between him and them is rather negative than positive. It is not that he refrains altogether from slave-produce, and they use it altogether, but that he uses less than they do. But while he professes a duty which he does not practise, they hesitate to proclaim a duty which. like him, they do not mean, or cannot perform. Surely the difference is not so great between them—he, at least, is not so much better than they in this matter that he is therefore entitled to to rebuke them for their shortcoming.

We wonder that the very *feel* of the cotton-paper beneath the fingers of our friend should not have checked his pen in recording his protest "against the bigotry of abolitionism." Mr. Phillips, in his remark, referred to a certain class of men,—and their abettors,—who committed a bare-faced robbery of the property of the American Anti-Slavery Society that the organization might be destroyed, certain of its most prominent and efficient membersbe crippled in their efforts, and the cause delivered over into the hands of men who, as their action then showed, and as time has proved of many of them since, were neither honest nor honourable men in the Anti-Slavery or worldly sense of the words.

Between such men and the Abolitionists there has been a difference, and a division. But *Abolitionists* were not divided among themselves; only dishonest, unprincipled men separated from Abolitionists. This Mr. Phillips said, and who can gainsay it? We are not in the habit of calling it a division in the family when one tosses a burglar out of the window, or turns a dishonest servant into the street. And the Church would hardly be accused of religious bigotry that excommunicated, without ceremony, a member who was in the habit of selling the communion cups for old silver. Neither is that "the bigotry of abolitionism," which denies that there was a division among Abolitionists, when the enemies of the cause withdrew, and even if it were, the indictment would come with a poor grace engrossed upon a sheet of cotton paper, from one who declares those to be faithless to the cause who wear cotton shirts.

☞ We must apologize for the various typographical errors in our last week's paper. Mr. Henry, who has almost from its commencement printed the *Standard*, has left us, we hope, for a position of more profit than the American Anti-Slavery Society could afford to make that which he has so long filled with such credit to himself as a diligent and correct printer. The office is now in the hands of younger men. Some inconvenience and errors were inevitable at the outset, but we think that this number will show that they have "got their hand in." The only error we observe in the last paper, which the reader would not readily correct for himself is in the 7th line of the 4th paragraph of the letter from Boston, where, for "*unknown country*," read "*unknown country-inn*."

THE NOMINATION OF THE BARNBURNERS.—That Martin Van Buren is again a candidate for the Presidency, is probably news to nobody now. The universal interest that is taken in the nomination, shows its importance, and, no doubt, it will receive a very general support among the disaffected of both parties. Gov. Dodge, who is the nominee for the Vice-Presidency upon the same ticket, is said to be the most popular man in the West; and his friends declare that his name, with Van Buren's, in that section of country, will make it necessary, as young Van Buren said of some other sections, that affidavits should be made, to convince the people that Cass was a candidate.

We publish in this week's paper the letter of Mr. Van Buren to the Utica Convention, in which he gives a full exposition of his views on the great question now before the country. To an Abolitionist. of course, it will be very far from satisfactory. But, for what it professes to be, it is a most important and able document. Martin Van Buren, by it, and by the nomination of his friends, is placed in a far higher and more respectable position than ever belonged to him, while in office. He is at the head of the first party that, for more than a quarter of a century, in this country, has seemed in earnest to maintain a vital principle, and that has had one, which, in the circumstances of the country, was worth maintaining. Like John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren has been sacrificed by the South. The act has anointed his eyes also, as it did those of Mr. Adams. We trust that with as much wisdom, but less of vindictiveness, with the same earnestness, but without any alloy of personal revenge, to satisfy he may prove that he as well understands the relation betweenNorth and South, and that he is ready to encounter the tempest which, no man can fail to see, is coming. At last we have a Northern party, thank God! and the revolution now is past recall.

Mr. Hale, we hear from very good authority, will, without doubt, withdraw in favour of the Barnburners' nomination. We shall not believe him the man of good sense that we take him to be, if he does not. The new party proposes to do nearly all that the Liberty party could do, and are every whit as earnest. Mr. Hale is simply a young Democrat, and willfind his ends answered by the Utica Convention.

"OFF WITH HIS HEAD—SO MUCH FOR BUCKINGHAM."—We regret to see that J. T. Buckingham, editor of the Boston Courier, has withdrawn from that paper. He retires because he cannot, in accordance with the requirements of the other proprietors of the Courier, give his support to the nominees of the late Whig party. So much for being honest and capable! The *Boston Advertiser* by its stupidity, and the *Atlas* by its want of principle, flourish and are popular, while the ablest, the most fearless, and only independent editor that Boston has known for many years,—always excepting Garrison—is thrown overboard, or throws himself over, because he chooses to have an opinion of his own in a matter of public policy. Honourable as Mr. Buckingham's editorial life has always been he never did a thing more to his credit than retiring from it under such circumstances.

DOUGLASS AND THE LEAGUERS.—The *Chronotype* says that several votes were cast in the League Convention for Frederick Douglass as the Vice Presidential Candidate of that party, and the editor—Elizur Wright—thinks that Douglass would hardly stand such a temptation to break his resolution touching an oath to the U. S. Constitution. We are not at all surprised at this suspicion of Douglass' integrity. The class of men who mainly compose the Liberty party—the editor of the *Chronotype* is a fair specimen—hold that a nomination for office is the chief end of man, and that however convenient and desirable principles, morality, and all that sort of thing may be on some occasions, they should never be allowed to stand in the way of the hope of an office. The *Chronotype* has merely judged Douglass by its own standard of morality.

The fact, however, that Douglass was apparently willing to give his influence to further the objects of the League by appearing and speaking at their meeting, will very likely lead many persons to suppose that the *Chronotype* is right in insinuating that he might be bribed to go a step further. But Frederick Douglass is no more a fool than he is a knave, and we are sure he will never abandon a principle for so equivocal an honour as a Liberty League, or Liberty party nomination.

EASILY SATISFIED.—The *Plymouth Memorial*, a Whig paper published at Plymouth, Mass., marvels that any Abolitionist can hesitate in choosing between Cass and Taylor. I would certainly be difficult to get a more willing and subservient tool of the slave-power than Cass, but the *Memorial* had better not say anything about Taylor, if the best evidence it can bring that he is better than Cass, is, that he is pledged to obey the voice of the people; and this voice as expressed by a Whig Congress, would be strongly in favour of "curbing Slavery," How much of the voice of the people, the Master of the Bloodhounds will decide belongs north of Mason and Dixon's line, has not yet been made manifest, and as to the Whig party, we are entirely of the opinion of Mrs. Gamp's friend touching that excellent woman's friend Mrs. Harris—"there ar 'nt no sich a person."

THE RUIN OF THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.—The *Guiana Times*, in an article on the present condition of the West India Colonies, observes:—

"The Colonies are ruined"—such is the cry. Now supposing, even, for arguments sake, that the whole of the present planters are ruined, it does not necessarily follow that the Colonies are ruined. Nobody ever thought of saying, when England's mightiest merchants were prostrated in the panic of last year, that therefore England was ruined. The Colony still remains. Without protection possibly no estates would give remunerative returns on the enormous amount of capital formerly invested in them, but the question is still open, can sugar be produced profitably to owners who are now coming into possession? We see no reason to doubt it, and we know that there are at this time in the Colony practical men who are willing, as opportunities offer, to invest their savings in sugar estates, as they come into the market.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT.—Mr. Hale, in the Senate on Saturday, offered a resolution, instructing the Committee on the District of Columbia, to bring in a bill abolishing Slavery in said District. It was lost by the following vote,—

Yeas—Messrs. Clarke of R. I. Corwin of Ohio, Davis of Mass. Hale of N. H. Miller of N. J. and Upham of Vt.—6.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherton, Bell, Benton, Borland, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Miss. Dickinson, Dix, Douglas, Dodge, Downs, Felch, Fitzgerald, Foote, Hamlin, Houston, Hunter, Johnson, of Md., Johnson of La., Johnson of Geo. Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Niles, Rusk, Spruance, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Westcott and Yulee—36.

HENRY CLAY has been appointed United States Senator, by the Governor of Kentucky. He declines accepting the office.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Philadelphia Correspondent.

PHILADELPHIA, 17th June, 1848.

MR. GAY:—There is probably no city in the Union which is richer in historical associations, and in relics of the colonial and revolutionary times, than Philadelphia. There is still standing, in Fifth street, near Chesnut, the house in which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence,—an old-fashioned, two-story building, which has quite an air of antiquity among the more recent structures in its neighbourhood. The room is still pointed out in which the arch-Democrat penned those famous words, "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—words with which his own actions were at times but too sadly inconsistent, and which were reëchoed by the nation with but a faint idea, indeed, of their mighty import, but which have, nevertheless, been a powerful lever in our hands for the overthrow of American Slavery. The house in which the Declaration was written is now, as it was then, occupied as a tavern.

In our State House too, as every one knows, that Declaration was signed; and in the tower of the same building hangs the celebrated Liberty Bell which was rung immediately after the signing was completed.

Within the limits of Kensington, (which, though constituting a part of the city, is a separate corporation, and therefore not inclnded within the city proper,) stood the elm tree under which William Penn met the Indian sagamores, and purchased from them the land which he would not receive as a gift from his king; thus, refusing, even at that early day, to acknowledge the justice of what has been called "the right of discovery." This fine old tree grew immediately on the banks of the Delaware, in the bosom of primeval woods. A more beautiful incident does not occur in our history than of this large hearted and free souled Quaker, with his full confidence in the power of justice and kindness, meeting those swarthy sons of the forest under the shadow of the elm tree, and there concluding the treaty between the Indian and European which was never broken. The last remnant of this tree was blown down some years since, and the wood was manufactured into various souvenirs. Though the spot where it stood is marked by a small block of marble, bearing an inscription in commemoration of the treaty, the whole place is, (greatly to the discredit of the corporation of Kensington,) in a miserable state of repair.

You remember that some time since, a meeting was held in Independence Square, to congratulate the French nation on the organization of a Republican form of Government, in the proceedings of which, by the way, coloured men, for the first time in a popular assembly in Philadelphia, participated. Certain resolutions were adopted, almost or quite unanimously, awarding the proper credit to the Provisional Government for that glorious crowning act of the revolution, the abolition of Slavery in all the French dependencies. The committee appointed to transmit the proceedings of the meeting to France, with an effrontery seldom before witnessed, suppressed these resolutions, and forwarded a copy of the proceedings thus mutilated. A meeting has since been called for the consideration of this high-handed measure, and to take the proper action upon it. I have not yet learned the result.

The excitement resulting from the late Whig nomination has died away somewhat, but there are hopeful indications of an extensive rebellion in what Governor Vance, one of the delegates to the convention from Ohio, so happily denominated "the pure church," and from which he piously warned the disaffected not to separate themselves without due and serious consideration. You remarked in the last Standard that this nomination was a long stride toward a dissolution of the union of these States. For this consummation so "devoutly to be wished," let us at least, as in duty bound, ever hope and pray.

What is to become of the Liberty party, in the midst of all these changes "perplexing monarchs," it is impossible for one not prophetic to foretell. I can say for it, (though I do not speak by authority,) that in this region it already closely approximates to that hitherto inconceivable phenomenon, "a unity in a oneity." Only think of the select one hundred and ninety-nine members of the party, with Dr. Bailey at their head, singing of themselves, at this sublime juncture in their history,

"What is the cause of all this great commotion, motion?"

It cannot be surpassed.

Yours as ever,

H. W. G.

Notes on New Books.

Blackwood's Magazine.—The June number of Messrs. Scott and Co's. reprint of Blackwood [has been] issued for more than three weeks, and is as usual in advance of the Edinborough edition. It seems hardly worth while to notice the table of contents so long after its publication, though there is nothing in it that spoils by ten days' keeping. A paper upon the Chartists, one upon the French Revolution, and another upon Lombardy and the Italian war, are all political, historical articles of a great deal of value, each in its way. The Caxton's part III., is equal to either part that has preceded it, and remind us of Tristam Shandy, though not intended as an imitation. Life in the far West. No. 1 is an exceedingly graphic sketch of life among the trappers and hunters of the Rocky Mountains. Guesses at Truth, is apparently a very just though severe review of a book which has not been republished in this country, though the writer is very far from wise or discriminating, we think, in his strictures upon Colerldge. Stoddard and Angling will instruct the lovers of the gentle art, and "The Inca and his Bride" amuse every body but inveterate story-readers who may not see the satire in it.

Amanda. A Tale of the Times, by William H. Brisbane.
This is a short story intended to illustrate the incontestible fact that scoundrels availing themselves of the facilites offered by the laws and Constitution of the United States, may reduce to Slavery any free citizen of the North by weaving a chain of evidence so ingenious as to raise a doubt in the minds of the victims themselves. We doubt, however if Dr. Brisbane will ever be a successful writer of fiction. He is more at home in such works as his Bible Argument upon Slavery

To Correspondents.

A. F. W. Package at 22.

J. A. B. Error in acknowledgment.

E. Q. Dont know: it was so written: ask the author.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry*: May-day Liberty Tree; Verses by Queen Anne Boleyn;—*Miscellany*: Men of Thought and Men of Action; The Bath Post Boy; Morals of the Clergy; Gleanings from Foreign Papers.

FIRST PAGE.—*Pro-Slavery*: Letter from the Right Rev. Rector of St. Phillip's Church, to the Rev. and Hon. J. C. Palfrey, M. C. *Selections*:—Southern Disaffection; Doings in Maryland; Voice of the Revolutionary Fathers; Decrease of the Population in Cuba; Report of the Speech of Mr. Sawyer.

SECOND PAGE.—*Communications* from Henry Grew, J. Kellet, Isaac T. Rice, &c.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

SEVEN DAYS

LATER FROM EUROPE.

Arrival of the Britannia.

The Britannia arrived at this port on Monday morning.—The news-boat Buena Vista met her at Halifax, and arrived at Boston with her news on Sunday afternoon.

She reports trade very dull in Europe, money plenty, cotton, flour and grain, declining in price.

Three of the Chartist leaders have been arrested in London, and committed for trial. Public meetings are frequently held, and at several of them rows have taken place, which the police were obliged to quell.

Old and Young Ireland have fraternized. A new Society is to be formed called the IRISH LEAGUE. The conviction of Mitchel has rather increased than allayed the discontent.—The sale at auction of his effects was attended by crowds and many articles were sold at prices far beyond their intrinsic value, as relics. A brother of Mr. Mitchel came passenger in the Britannia.

FRANCE.—It is reported that the Prince de Joinville had arrived at Paris and was arrested.

Prince Louis Napoleon is understood to be elected for Paris. He will probably obtain three returns beside that of the Capital. The Government of course will not dare to molest him.

The *European Times* states that the resignation of Lamartine and Ledru Rollin was openly talked of in Paris, and suspicions are expressed that Lamartine was a party to the movement of the 15th of May.

Caussidiere, late Prefect of Police, charges Lamartine with having supplied the arms to Soubrier, which enabled him to get up the conspiracy. Lamartine's friends alledge that his aim was, by making a popular demonstration to avoid a collision in the streets of Paris. M. Theirs is reported as not unlikely to supplant Lamartine in authority.

The returns for the eleven vacancies in the deputation of Paris were proposed on the 9th at the Hotel de Ville. The following is a list of the successful candidates: Caussidère, Morea, Goudchaux, Changanier, Thiers, Pierre Leroux, Victor Hugo, Louis Buonaparte, La Grange, Boissel and Proudham.

Atfer a stormy debate in the National Assembly, a decree for preventing tumultuous assemblies in the streets was carried by 487 against 82. Several additional regiments are expected immediately in Paris.

The commission on the Constitution has decided, according to the *Presse*, on the following points:

"The political Constitution of France shall be a Democratic Republic, one and indivisible. This proposition was adopted unanimously. The project of the Constitution is to be preceded by a declaration admitting, besides the rights already enjoyed by the people, those of gratuitous education, employment and assistance. The question on the legislative powers gave rise to several long discussions. It was at length determined that there should be but one legislative chamber, composed of 750 members. In case, however, of a revision of the Constitution, the Assembly should remain, as at present, composed of 900 members. The elections to be made by departments and by ballot. The Executive Government to be confided to a President appointed by direct universal suffrage, by communes, for four years without a possible reelection. Two millions of votes, at least, to be necessary for the nomination of the President. The commission has not yet adopted any resolution as to the duties of the President and of the Ministers."

The Committees on Finance and on Public Works, have made contrary reports on the question of the Government assuming the rail roads. The Committee on agriculture have reported a bill for the creation of fifty Colonies for undertaking the work of irrigation and draining on a grand scale. The Committee of the Assembly have rejected the project of Law for Divorce.

There have been further disturbances at Lyons among the workmen. On the Rouen Railway the labourers demanded the expulsion of the Englishmen yet employed there. Disturbances have also occurred at Limoges.

Louis Blanc has published a statement relative to his part in the affair of the 15th May. He says:

"I commence by declaring, and that only to expose the audacity of certain falsehoods, that I have never had any relation, direct or indirect, with the citizens Blanqui. Raspail, and Huber. I have only seen the two former once in my life, some years ago, and have never seen the latter at all. Personally I know neither of them. Like several of my colleagues of the Old Provisional Government, I was sometimes with citizen Sobrier before the meeting of the National Assembly, but since then we have remained complete strangers to each other. As regards Albert and Barbes, I should be ashamed of myself, if, knowing them to be prisoners and unhappy, I should hesitate to say boldly that I am their friend."

ITALY.—On the 30th, the city of Peschiera capitulated, and was taken possession of by the Piedmontese. The inhabitants had subsisted for several days on horse-flesh. Several engagements had taken place in the neighbourhood between the Piedmontese and Austrians, in which the latter were defeated.

ROME.—It is said that Pope Pius has recovered all his popularity, and on the feast of St. Philip the population made a brilliant manifestation in his favour.

A revolutionary movement had taken place at Milan, but was suppressed.

An insurrection is said to have taken place at Calabria, and that a Provisional Government had been established. There is also a rumour that the king has been dethroned, which is probably incorrect.

AUSTRIA.—The Emperor is still at Innspruck. The disturbances continue at Vienna, and much blood is shed in desperate battles between the people and the soldiery.

A Provisional Government has been formed by a Congress of Deputies of all Sclavonic races now assembled at Prague, but it is denounced as illegal by the Vienna ministry.

The Constituent National Assembly of Germany at Frankfort, has issued a proclamation in which it solemnly declares that it fully recognizes the right of the people of other than German race living within the territories of the Germanic Confederation, to enjoy perfect equality in the official use of their languages, in the church, school, literature, administration, and tribunals.

PRUSSIA.—Things seem to in a very unsettled state, though order is still maintained at Berlin.

DENMARK.—The war still continues without any especial result.

SPAIN.—The Belgian Minister has left Madrid, but the reason of his departure was not certainly known. The British residents at Cadiz have been obliged to give security for their good behaviour.

Died.

In this city, on the 30th of May, ELIZABETH S., wife of Rensselaer N. Havens, and daughter of James Dwight, of New Haven, Connecticut, in the 30th year of her age.

At New Bedford, Massachusetts, on the 17th inst., Mrs. ANDREW ROBESON.

Also at the same place, Mrs. WILLIAM R. RODMAN.

Married.

At Only, Accomac county, Virginia, June 13th, Dr. ALEXANDER Y. P. GARNET, United States Navy, to Miss MARY E., daughter of Hon. Henry A Wise.

At St. George's Bloomsbury, (Eng.) MARY CAMPBELL, daughter of the late Alex. Campbell, Esq., and niece and sole heiress of the late Thomas Campbell, Esq., L L.D., author of "The Pleasures of Hope," and late Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, to the Rev. W. ALFRED HILL, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford.

NOTICES.

FLORAL EXHIBITION—4th OF JULY.

A Floral Exhibition for the benefit of the children at Randall's Island, will take place on the 4th of July. All benevolently disposed people who can contribute flowers, or induce others to do so, are requested to send them to the care of Isaac T. Hopper, at the office of the New York Prison Association, No. 15 Centre Street, on Monday the 3rd inst, or otherwise at Randall's Island, early on the morning of the 4th. A Steamboat will make several trips during the day, of which notice will be given in the daily papers. The flowers will be sold after the exhibition and pic-nic, and the proceeds applied to purchasing a library for the children.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The sixth Annual Meeting of the WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at Salem Columbiana county, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 16th, 17th, and 18th of August, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M.

Let a full representation of the slaves' friends come up on this occasion from all parts of the Great West. The political leaders are marshalling their hosts for a conflict, their followers are rallying by hundreds of thousands to the support of their party banners. Time, and money, and labour are expended to secure their object. And shall the friends of Freedom, whose faith should be strong in the power of Truth, be lukewarm and indifferent while politicians are so earnest in their labours, so untiring in their zeal? The events of the past year should encourage us to renewed effort, for every movement of importance which has been made, having a bearing upon the question of Slavery, foreshadows the destruction of the system, and the oppressors feel that it is so. The political parties will make a desperate effort to save themselves from the destruction their corruption has brought upon them; and the efforts of the Abolitionists to maintain and enforce the Right should be proportionally great. Arrangements should be made at the coming meeting to continue the Anti-Slavery agitation by the lips of the living speaker, and to extend more widely the circulation of the Society's paper the Anti-Slavery Bugle. Let none of the friends who can be there, absent themselves for any light cause, for the presence of all, and the counsel of all is desirable.

Besides the friends of Liberty in the West who will be present on the occasion, HENRY C. WRIGHT and C. C. BURLEIGH, are expected to be in attendance, and perhaps other representatives of the East.

LOT HOLMES,
Recording Sec.

WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The result of the effort made last year by the Abolitionists of the West, to hold an Anti-Slavery Fair, was abundantly gratifying; and fully demonstrated the practicability and usefulness of the plan. The Call was promptly responded to by many, the avails of whose labour greatly aided the Western Anti-Slavery Society, and enabled it to prosecute its work with renewed vigour. The exigencies of the cause demand as much sacrifice and effort now as were needed then. The victory of Freedom is not yet won—the clank of the bondman's fetters has not yet ceased—American women are still chattelized and imbruted. The blighting influence that Slavery has extended over the South and over the North, still exists—the Church is not yet purified of its iniquity, nor the State redeemed from its degradation. We, therefore, friends of the slave, appeal to you again—we appeal to your love of Liberty—to your reverence for the Eternal principles of Right; and ask you to bring this year another offering that may be used for the dissemination of Anti-Slavery Truth—for the increase of Anti-Slavery knowledge.

No inconsiderable portion of the donations at last year's Fair, was derived from the Farmer, the Mechanic, the Merchant and the Manufacturer—will they not be as generous now as then, and each give ungrudgingly and liberally that which he has to bestow? Articles that cannot readily be transported to the Fair, may, with a little effort, be converted into money, or exchanged for goods that can be carried.—Those who wish to aid in this work, need not be at a loss how to labour. Where Sewing Circles are not already in operation, may we not confidently hope they will speedily be organized, that their varied gifts of beautiful and fancy articles may not be wanting?

The special object of the proposed Fair is, to aid the Western Anti-Slavery Society; and all funds there received will be placed in its Treasury—no goods are solicited, and none will be sold for the benefit of any other object. Those who are willing to assist this Society in sustaining its various agencies for promoting Anti-Slavery agitation, for hastening the redemption of the enslaved, are earnestly invited to join us. We labour not for the advancement of any political party—for the furtherance of any measures that invoke the aid of brute force. It is by the strength of moral power we would tear down the strongholds of oppression—it is by establishing the righteous principles we would secure for all an inheritance of Freedom. If you who profess to be the friends of the slave, are really with us in this contest between Truth and Error—between Slavery and Liberty—we shall expect your cordial co operation.

The Fair will be held at the time and place of the next Annual Meeting.

J. ELIZABETH JONES, Salem,
BETSEY M. COWLES, Austinburgh,
SAREPTA BROWN, New Lyme,
ELIZA HOLMES, Columbiana,
MARIA L. GIDDINGS, Jefferson,
LYDIA IRISH, New Lisbon,
JANE D. MCNEALY, Greene,
REBECCA S. THOMAS, Marlboro,
MARIA WHITMORE, Andover,
MARY DONALDSON, Cincinnati,
ELIZABETH STEDMAN, Randolph,
HANNAH C. THOMAS, Mount Union,
CLARISSA G. OLDS, Unionville,
ANN WALKER, Leesville,
SARAH B. DUGDALE, Green Plain,
PHEBE ANN CARROLL, Ravenna,
HARRIET N. TORREY, Parkman,
ELLEN CLARK, Wadsworth.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

The friends of human freedom will hold a Convention at Willimantic, Ct., on Tuesday 4th, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M. and continuing through the day. All, of whatever class, condition, or sect, are invited to attend.

S. S. Foster, and Abby Kelly Foster, will attend and address the meeting.

JAMES B. WHITCOMB, *Pres.*

L. BURLEIGH, *Sec.*

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY--ANNUAL MEETING.

The Committee having in charge the place of holding the Annual Meeting of the above Society, have unanimously agreed to change the place from Hingham, (heretofore agreed upon, as the place of holding said meeting,) to Abington.—This change has been deemed necessary, in order that the Abolitionists and friends in the Old Colony, may meet in connection with the State Society, on the 4th of July, at Abington. The Annual meeting, therefore, of the "Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society" will be held in "*Pleasure Island Grove.*" *at Abington, on July 4th,* 1848, commencing at 9 o'clock, A. M. As the meeting is to be held in connection with the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, distinguished speakers from abroad will undoubtedly be present. As the meeting will be one of great interest, we trust the Abolitionists of the Old Colony will be present in round numbers. We have the pleasure to announce, that the Old Colony cars will take passengers to the meeting for *half price*. Should the weather prove stormy the meeting will be held in the *Town House*, very near the Grove.

ELMER HEWITT, *President.*

H. H. BRIGHAM, *Secretary.*

ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS.

Eastern Series.

The Anti Slavery Conventions in the Eastern part of the State will be held as follows:

Gloucester.—Saturday and Sunday, July 1 and 2.
Abington, (Plymouth County.)—Tuesday, July 4.
East Bridgewater—Thursday and Friday, July 6 and 7.

The above Conventions will be attended by PARKER PILLSBURY and WM. W. BROWN, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society, Miss LUCY STONE, and others, of which due notice may be expected, from time to time. For the meeting at Lawrence, see the official notice of the Secretary of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society.

Western Series.

The opening Convention of this series will be held at
Marlborough.—Thursday and Friday. June 29 and 30.
Berlin.—Saturday and Sunday, July 1 and 2.
Gardner.—Thursday and Friday, July 6 and 7.
Winchendon Village.—Saturday and Sunday, July 8 and 9.
Ashburnham.—Tuesday and Wednesday, July 11 and 12.
Sterling.—Thursday and Friday, July 13 and 14.
Princeton.—Saturday and Sunday, July 15 and 16.

☞ The above Conventions will be attended by ADIN BALLOU, and others. Dr. E. D. HUDSON will attend the Conventions at Marlborough and Berlin. CHARLES L. REMOND will attend that at Gardner, and those following. Those held on Sunday will also be attended by STEPHEN S. and ABBEY K. FOSTER. The Conventions usually will not commence until the latter part of the day first named.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.
General Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society.

FIFTEENTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The undersigned, earnestly desiring the abolition of Slavery, have been led, by the strength of their wish, carefully to consider what means may be found sufficient for the accomplishment of this great and holy object. They find that Slavery exists through the selfishness, the ignorance, the cowardice, the hypocrisy of the people. If the nation could be made more conscientious, disinterested, courageous, enlightened, and true to its own political and religious principles, the work were done. Until enough nobility of spirit can be awakened in the land to make the clergyman, the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, the merchant and the politician willing to renounce their hopes of worldly success, and see their respective careers of individual advancement closed up, apparently forever, by their allegiance to Freedom;—to make the women of the land feel themselves disgraced by their indifference to such a cause as this;—to make the Christians and citizens of the land willing to bear the suffering and odium consequent upon an adherence to right against law and custom;—until this can be accomplished, the Southern slaveholders are upheld in their sin by the powerful support of Christian fellowship, social sanction, and civil participation.

We determine, therefore, to strike at once at the root of Slavery by appealing to the hearts and consciences of men, and withdrawing their allegiance from such shameful cruelty and wrong, by the continual presentation of the paramount claims of Freedom and Humanity.—Union being strength, that fact decides us to co-operate with any whose principles prove them to be trustworthy; who make the abolition of Slavery their primary object; and who, in addition to their honesty of purpose, have sense and sagacity enough to make them safe coadjutors, by securing them from becoming the prey of the selfish set of hypocritical adventurers that every moral revolution calls forth. We find such a sufficient and trustworthy body nowhere but in the American Anti-Slavery Society. Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings, assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party; and, speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. While calling on all to unite with it, it has ever, by the energy and rectitude of its progress, been free without license, and elective without invidiousness. It is not too much to say in its praise, that its cause and its course repel all but the wise, the good, and the bold from active co-operation with it, and brand with dishonour the hand that approaches it to make it the instrument of any selfish purpose. It has no local attachments, no partisan or sectarian partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose; while, at the same time, every observer notices how happily its labours prepare the way for every good work: for, though specific in its object, its great principle of *immediate individual reform*, without awaiting the gradualisms of party politics, legislative action, and judicial decision, is one of universal application.

This, therefore, is the mode of operation, which commends itself to our reason and feelings. The agents and friends which such an association of necessity draws forth, are the ones that we wish to sustain. The periodicals that such an association employs are the ones that we wish to circulate. In the councils of such a body where all persons have equal rights of membership, the *whole* collective, energy, and judgment are constantly in use, and the chances and means of success consequently doubled.

Hence we find it to be our duty, in preparing for the FIFTEENTH NATIONAL ANTISLAVERY BAZAAR to commence in FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, on Thursday, DECEMBER 21st, to devote the funds then raised, to sustain the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in its sacred work of moral agitation and revolution in behalf of the enslaved, and confidently appeal to all good hearts EVERYWHERE, in aid of so noble an enterprise.

M. W. Chapman,	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Ann T. G. Phillips,	*Mary G. Chapman,*
Helen E. Garrison,	*Caroline Weston,*
Mary May,	*Susan C. Cabot,*
Eliza Lee Follen,	*Henrietta Sargent,*
Sarah S. Russell,	*Hannah Tufts.*
Louiza Loring,	*Eliza F. Meriam,*
Mary Young,	*Caroline F. Williams,*
Mary Wiley,	*Evelina S. A. Smith,*
Anne Warren Weston,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Maria Lowell,	*Ann R. Bramhall,*
Francis Mary Robbins,	*Harriet T. White,*
Lydia Parker,	*Abby Francis,*
Harriet B. Hall,	*Abby Southwich,*
Catharine Sargent,	*Harriet M. Jackson.*

All persons desiring the privilge of coöperating with us in this joyful and holy work, are informed that the pecuniary value of donations of money and materials, is doubled to the cause through the means of the Bazaar, by the care, skill, and ingenuity which are entrusted with their management. *Supplies for the refreshment table are particularly desired.*

Friends of the cause aware of the advantages accruing to it from The Liberty Bell, are requested to forward their donations and articles *immediately*, or as soon as convenient.

Friends in England, Scotland, and Ireland, are requested to address their contributions as usual, to MARIA W. CHAPMAN, care of A. W. Weston, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Contributions and letters from the American side of the Atlantic, hitherto addressed to M. W. Chapman, may be addressed to ANNE W. WESTON.

Communications from friends in the country respecting lodgings for ladies intending to furnish tables, should be addressed to ELIZA F. MERIAM, Boston.

Members of the Committee who will be in Europe during the remainder of the year, will be most happy to receive donations for the purchase of choice and rare foreign articles for the Bazaar. Address CAROLINE WESTON, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Every friend who furnished evergreen for the decoration of the Hall last year, is entreated for the sake of the cause to continue the same good office, by *seasonably* gathering the requisite "running green," and red cedar trees, and bringing them to Boston, on Saturday, Dec'r. 13th, thus allowing the indispensable three days before the 21st, for the arrangements.

MEETINGS IN THE WEST.

Henry C. Wright, the Apostle of Peace, and Charles C. Burleigh, the eloquent Antislavery Advocate, will hold meetings at the following places, viz: at

Pittsburgh,	Pa.	June 15th,	16th & 17th
New Brighton,	"	"	19th & 20th
Lowellville,	Ohio	"	22d
Youngstown,	"	"	24th & 25th
New Lyme	"	"	27th
Painesville,	"	"	29th
Chagrin Falls,	"	July	1st & 2d
Cleveland,	"	"	4th
Twinsburgh,	"	"	6th
Richfield,	"	"	8th & 9th
Akron,	"	"	11th
Ravenna,	"	"	13th & 14th
Randolph,	"	"	15 & 16th
Massillon,	"	"	18th

The meetings at New Lyme, Cleveland, and Akron, will commence at ten o'clock, A. M.; the others, on the first day of the meetings at two o'clock, P. M. subsequent days at 10 A. M.

The friends of Anti-Slavery and of Peace are requeste to make all necessary arrangements for the meetings, an give as wide a notice as possible. Now is the time to agitate

Persons can avail themselves of this opportunity afforded by these meetings to pay for the Anti-Slavery Standard to,

SAMUEL BROOKE.

Poetry.

From Punch.

MAY-DAY'S LIBERTY TREES.

MAY has come up with quickening breath, to breathe about the flowers
That through the mold of wood and wold peep up from April showers;
All is blossom, bloom, and burgeon on trim lawns and woodland leas,
And Freedom's trees are sprouting, like other kinds of trees.

So kindly Lady Liberty, to her May-day game addrest,
Hath thrown her nursery open to the nations of the West.
"Fair speed, old friends and new ones! let each his skill essay
To choose his Tree of Liberty, this merry month of May.

"Mine is a Dryad's nature—I flourish and I fade,
I have my scathings and my blights, bare time and time of shade:
So each of you his tree shall plant, and call it after me,
And I shall wane or wax, as fades or flourishes my tree.

"I have laurels whose green glossiness is due to bloody rains,
Whose roots suck strength from that dark loam which fattens battle plains;
I have mountain pines, rock-rifted, slow of growth as they are strong;
Poplars in one night spindled up, as weak as they are long.

"I have broad platanes, such as cooled Ilissus' waters clear;
Olives the growth of Italy, no longer shrunk and sere;
And this green sire, whose gnarled limbs still blunt the axe's stroke,
Ringed with a thousand summers—the knotty British Oak."

To mingled *Marseillaise* and *Mourir pour la Patrie*,
Musket in hand, red cap on head, sprang France to choose his tree.
"Laurels? Bah! Of that plant, for me at will to pick and pull,
The Little Corporal stuck France, if possible, too full.

"Pines? Ah *oui—Guillaume Tell, et ce grand tenor,* DUPREZ!
Olives?—*pas mal* for a desert, or to help a sallad—*mais—*
The Oak? Ah, *par example!* The Oak for France, *que non!*
The Oak!—*a grand, grand, grand jamais! Ah, perfide Albion!*

"*Voyons*—What's left? Ah, yes: this trunk, so *gentille* and so slim,
So nobly sudden, too, in growth—I fix mp choice on him!
The Tree of Liberty for France the Poplar I proclaim,
And with a grand fraternal *fete* inaugurate the same!"

Next Germany came much bemused with Burschenschaft and beer:
He first was all for fixing there, then all for fixing here;
One moment hot for Poplar, the next agog for Oak.
Till Liberty began to think his choice would end in smoke.

So she left him roaming vaguely through her garden for a tree,
Now roaring an "*auf Bruder,*" now a *Crambambuli,*"
Hid in clouds of his own blowing—*moyen-age* in coat and hat,
And apparently quite hazy as to what he would be at.

Then Italy came leaping, like a strong man out of sleep,
And with outspread arms the Laurel boughs and Olive down did sweep:
"Be these my trees, and thine this wreath—for peace and for renown."
And Liberty looked on well pleased, and took the proffered crown.

But Britain in that garden stood, like one familiar there,
And watched the rush of stranger guests with an untroubled air,
And shook her head, or nodded, as each choose his tree of choice,
But never shifted foot the while, nor lifted up his voice.

"*Your* tree?" at last quoth Liberty; when Britain calm of soul,
Turned fondly to the Oak, and spread his broad hand on the bole.
"'Tis gnarled," he said, "but honest—slow of growth but firm of grain;
Up from the ground he drinks the dew; down from the skies, the rain.

His roots took time in spreading, but spread wider for the time;
Ring gradual welded on to ring, he broadened to his prime;
He has witnessed generations of quicker-blooded trees
Shoot up, sink down, since first the fern clustered about his knees.

'*This* is *my* tree; the Liberty I crave, like this should thrive—
A thing of growth, however slow, in eve ry vein alive
Let France have Poplars, if she will; and at your garden call
For a tree per Revolution: my Oak is once for all.

"All he asks is careful tending. Foul things, at times, no doubt
Will roost in his broad branches; I must put them to the rout.
He has dead wood to cut away; bruised branches to sustain:
But still my Oak, through all is Oak—through all shall Oak remain."

The following plaintive verses are by the accomplished and unfortunate Queen Anne Boleyn;

Oh Death! rocke me on sleepe,
Bringe me on quiet reste;
Let passe my guiltlesse goste
Out of my carefull breste,
Toll on the passing bell,
Ringe out the doleful knell,
Let the sounde my dethe tell,
For I must dye,
The is no remedy,
For now I dye.

My paynes/who can express?
Alas! they are so stronge,
My dolor will not suffer strength
My lyfe for to prolonge;
Toll on the passinge bell, &c.

Alone in prison stronge,
I wayle my destenye;
Wo worth this cruel hap that I
Should taste this mysere.
Toll on the passinge bell, &c.

Farewell my pleasures past,
Welcum my present payne!
I feel my torments so increse
That lyfe cannot remayne.
Cease now the passinge bell,
Rung is my dolefull knell
For the sound my dethe dothe tell;
Dethe dothe drawe nye,
Sound my end dolefully;
For now I dye.

Miscellany.

From Douglass Jerrold's Magazine.

MEN OF THOUGHT AND MEN OF ACTION.

The popular mind is fond of broad distinctions. It masses most of its impressions in large formulas, without regard to the subtler shades of difference. Its generalizations are always broad, and consequently often loose; but admirably adapted to ordinary conveience. Unhappily, conclusions are sometimes drawn from these generalizations as if they were absolute and precise. Thus the world has consented to divide mankind into Men of Thought and Men of Action; and, for all ordinary purposes, the division may be accepted. We know it means only to demarcate those in whom thought has the predominance, from those in whom thought is subjected to the mere animal and instinctive tendencies. But this distinction, of which we all see the propriety, passing into a formula, is received as an absolute truth; and from it is deduced the current opinion, that Men of thought are unfit for Action, and should not be trusted with the reins of Government.

It is worth while to examine this opinion a little. We know that men are not so divided into two distinct classes; but that every man has at once capacity for thought and for action;—is both a Thinker and a Doer. The stupidest breaker of stones upon the king's highway has an immortal soul. He is not a mere stone-breaking machine; but has a thinking faculty within him. The very idiot has his imbecile theory of life upon which he works. Our question becomes, therefore, when looked at as a matter of philosophical speculation, only a question of *degree;* as we find that in some men the thinking faculty is more active than in others. Of course you may take the two extremes of the scale; the meditative recluse on the one hand, and the stonebreaker on the other; but even on that supposition, the Man of Thought will be found, with all his imperfections, infinitely preferable to the Man of Action. That is to say, the thinking, dreaming, sickly, *impractical* recluse would really be better fitted to govern men, than the hard-handed, broad-shouldered, uninstructed, little-thinking, *practical* stone-breaker. It is by stating the extremes of a case, that we are often more clearly enabled to perceive the real drift of an argument; and in the case we have just put there can be no doubt that the current notion of the incapacity of Men of Thought is reduced *ad absurdum.*

But let us go more into the heart of the question. Men accustomed to habits of study and speculation; accustomed to pass laborious nights in elaborating theories of an abstract nature—are generally so absorbed in their own thoughts, that, when they come into society, they seem "in it but not of it;" they are what is called "absent." They cannot attend to the small details of life; they mismangage their household affairs; they become the laughing-stocks of fools; their thoughts are fixed on the stars; their knees are broken against the posts. And it is because students have generally been men of these unpractical, unbusiness-like habits, that those conclusions have been drawn against theory which we so constantly hear in the people's mouths—"O, that is all theory!" they exclaim; or, "He is a mere theorist!" or, "That is very well in *theory,*"—phrases all used with a certain sarcasm, as if theory were the given name for caprice or idle dreaming. Yet it is very necessary that all men should understand that theory is nothing of the kind. It is a torch which lights us onward in our path; and the brighter that torch, the more securely shall we walk. Put it out, and we are in darkness and confusion. True it is that theories are often false, wild, and chimerical; but the use of a thing must not be tested by its abuse; and because there are *false theories* we must not be irreverent towards *theory.*

The man who declaims so sarcastically against theories, is himself the very slave of theories. The whole processes of his life, all his acts, all his hopes, beliefs, and aspirations, are but a bundle of theories; very often discordant and contradictory, but always theories. He may not have been the first man who discovered them; he may not even know what they are; but he adopted them as his own, exhibits them as final truths, and acts upon them. It has been well said, that no man is so much a slave to metaphor as he who has only two or three metaphors, which he uses on all occasions. In the same way, no man is so abject a slave to theories as he whose "large discourse of reason" has not "looked before and after;" whose mind has not been familiarised with a great diversity of theories. It is quite clear, inasmuch as we are *not* machines, but do actually possess thinking souls, and follow their dictates, that we do even, in our most ordinary occupations, follow their theory. We do all of us carry in our hands a torch, smaller or larger, which we have either lighted for ourselves, or have accepted, ready lighted, from the hands of others, and by the aid of which we endeavour to struggle successfully onwards.

It is very true that poets, philosophers, historians, and mathematicians, have not been generally men of business. But what is a man of business? He is a man of habits; he does to-day what he did yesterday: he thinks to-day what he thought yester day. His mind moves in a restricted circle (I speak of *mere* men of business,) and his associations being for the most part connected with his occupation, his mind has acquired a certain tact and readiness in the sphere in which he lives, which gives him a most decided superiority over the man who has not had that experience, whose associations are not so ready. But take this man of business from his counting house, and plunge him in the political arena, or in the camp, or in the study, and you will find that that readiness and tact which before distinguished him, are all gone, and he is a perfect child. His mind, accustomed to move in one orbit, is perplexed at the new demands made upon it; and not being accustomed to *act spontaneously,* is helpless from want of precedent. Habits of business are essentially *habits*—things done upon rule and precedent; but the real Man of Action is one who is capable of always seeing the thing to be done, and of having the resolution to do it. If the eonditions be new, he invents new plans. If the conditions be modified, he modifies his plans. His mind is not chained down by any set of associations; it is free as air, and moves as vigorously in a new as in an old direction.

Doubtless there are men "so sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," in whom the thinking faculty is so active that its very activity confuses and perplexes them: men, like Hamlet, who, by reasoning too much upon the means, want the resolution to effect their ends. Hamlet is a good type of this class. He cannot bring himself to execute his father's commands and the promptings of his own heart, because he refines too much upon the best method of doing it. Thoughts crowd hurriedly upon his brain,—lead him now this way, and now that, suggesting such an infinity of purposes, that his brain is bewildered, and he ends by leaving vengeance to chance. Such cases, are, however, exceptional; and it will be found that Men of Thought are generally capable of becoming very efficient Men of Action, nay, more, of becoming the most efficient Men of Action. As we are all led by theories; as we *do* all think, and act upon our thoughts, it is quite evident that our leaders must be thinkers; and the great leaders of mankind—the Mohamets, the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Cromwells, the Fredericks, the Napoleons, the Luthers, the Calvins—were pre-eminently Men of Thought. It was because they thought clearly that they acted efficiently; for action, in its real sense, is not movement, it is not mere turbulence; it is the incarnation of thoughts into deeds; the passing into act of strong volitions. Were it otherwise, the greatest Men of Action would be smiths, miners, and handicraftsmen.

There is, however, one distinction which may be made, even amongst the Men of Thought. It is not every king of intellectual activity which is adapted to action. Although to *be* a real leader of mankind it is imperative that a man should have a great intellect, as well as a strong will, some orders of mind are fitted for the office, and some are unfitted. The mathematician, the chemist, the physiologist, and the naturalist, may or may not have the faculties which shall fit him to be a leader. M. Arago is a strikihg living example of the union of political ability with scientific eminence; but in themselves mathematics, chemistry, &c., inasmuch as they are carried on by the operations of pure intelellect alone—inasmuch as they call into play the logical part of the mind only—by no means fit their professors to become the leaders of men. But poets, historians, moralists, and all those whose intellects are employed on man and man's natnre, as the subject of their investigation, are, and ever will be, the Leaders of men. They are our true kings—our true aristocracy. Of course, when I say *poets,* I do not mean mere versifiers, when I say historians, I do not mean compilers; when I say moralists, I do not mean declaimers of common-places and maxims. I mean men who have *the eye to see* whatever is the truth; men who have the hearts to feel whatever the universal heart of mankind will feel; not book-writers, nor book-makers, nor journalists, nor versifiers; but men of genius, and genius is emphatically the possession of "an eye to see." What the man of genius sees, he sees clearly, and enables others to see. The book-writers and book-makers—the crowds of imitators, who, because they catch up a faint echo of a poet's song, imagine themselves to be poets, do not really *see* anything, but only boisterously proclaim what he saw before them, are not leaders!—mere followers; mere sheep, jumping after the bell-wether; but the bell-wether always has been, and always will be, the one best sheep of the flock—the one who can take the first leap, and can lead his gregarious crowd "to fresh fields and pastures new."

It is generally supposed, especially in England, the poet is a man only fitted to charm our leisure hours; that the historian is a man only fitted to fill with dignity a professor's chair, and load our shelves with ponderous and somewhat unreadable volumes. But France, has shown us, by example, that which was indeed evident enough before to all thinking men, that the historian can become a minister, and a very resolute, active minister; that the poet can become the leader of a great revolution, and what is more, the master of it! Lamartine has forever vindicated the claim of the poet to be acknowledged as a leader! Nothing could be more unpractical than his poetry—nothing more practical, in the finest sense of the word, than his action. Because he was a poet he knew well that mere details of business, that mere acts of Government were not the things to satisfy the world; that men were swayed by their convictions no less than by their interests; that they had immortal souls in their bosoms, and that these souls must be appealed to by any one who would set up as a leader. And yet the shouts of derision which burst from Englishmen when they first heard of his forming one of the Provisional Government! The idea of a poet becoming a statesman, and the ruler of the destinies of a great nation, was so exquisitely ridiculous! The idea of a man laying down his Lute and taking up Protocols—to cease singing and begin reigning—to cease charming their ears with melody, and to begin expressing their conviction and moulding them into acts! It was indeed a most piquant paradox! All our practical men were full of derision. Yet the events have shown, in spite of one false step (and the wonder is that he has not made many,) that Lamartine was the man to whom all France looked. He was the ruler of the storm; the maker and saviour of the Republic. So evident has this become, that at last England also begins to look to him—to him the poet—as the wisest and fittest ruler France could have! Yet those very men who now cry up Lamartine would stand amazed if you ventured to suggest that England also had her rulers who did not sit in the house of Peers—her men of genius who could better wield her destinies than even the "descendants of ancient houses." Yes, it is a sober fact, that there are men in this country of ours better fitted to become our rulers than the first-born of "men of weight and family." Strange as it may seem, the possession of some thousands of fat land does not endow the possessor with infinite wisdom—does not give him "the eye to see,"—does not give him the pre-eminence of mind! In spite of pathetic remonstrances about having a "great stake in the country," the thought is gradually spreading among men, that the greatest stake in a country is in the possession of its *leading ideas,* not of its best acres.

It is of absolute importance we should clearly understand that our real rulers are Men of Thought; for in the next fifty years European Democracy is inevitable; and although despotisms and monarchies, feudal and military govervments, can be carried on with something like efficiency by mere *castes* and classes—on hereditary traditions successively modified by thinkers—this can never be the case with Democracy. The political problem is daily becoming more and more complex. It is ceasing to be the Few legislating for the Many; the Many are beginning to legislate for themselves. Democracy, which, as I always say, is as inevitable as death, must sweep away with it a great mass of political speculation, and political prejudices. It altogether alters the whole problem of social existence. The necessity for Thinkers becomes more imperitive. If the Many are to legislate for themselves, and chose their own legislators, instead of having their legislators *born* for them, it is quite clear that they will chose such legislators as may appear to them to be the wisest. Now it is of great importance that they should distinctly understand the real nature of the influence of man upon society—they should understand how that man best suits them who can best sympathise with them; and that the Ruler is not one who simply looks to their material interests, but is really and truly their spiritual Guide. They should divest themselves, therefore, of the absurd prejudice respecting the impracticalness of poets, and moralists, and philosophers. Any individual poet, moralist or philosopher may be impractical; but that is a point they will soon discover; their own good sense will guard them from making a mistake. And if they should find many instances of weakness and impracticalness among these classes, they should not on that account cease to revere and to look up to these classes, as to their real guides—as to the sources of political power. It will generally be found that a man with a conviction is a man of Action: for it is the condition of all strong convictions that they should realise themselves; and the man who thinks vividly will act energetically. It is only your half-convictions, your make-beliefs, your notions adopted at second hand, which cannot get themselves into anything like practical realization. Half-thinkers are always timorous; and although it is true philosophers sometimes have very wild convictions and very impractical schemes; you are not bound to choose a man as your representative because he has *a* conviction, but only because he has *your* conviction; and however startling and impracticable that conviction may appear, it is well for all sakes that it should endeavour to get realized; and whether it be a truth or an absurdity, will be best shown in action.

For my part, I do not agree with Louis Blanc's theories with respect to the organization of Labour, but I am very glad that he made the attempt to get those theories realised. Glad—because I rejoice to see every conviction trying to become an act. Glad—because I rejoice that the real sense of the nation should be allowed to express itself on any question. If all France had deemed it right that labour should be organized on Louis Blanc's system, it would have been a grand experiment, by which all Europe would have profited; and as France did not deem it right—as Louis Blanc's system was not the expression of what France thought on that subject, but only of what a very small section of France thought,—it was well to come a distinct understanding on the matter. Nay, even to fight for, if necessary. Whatever is strong will stand; whatever falls, deserves to fall. If it falls, it is a proof either that it is weak, now and for ever; or it is a proof that the age is unfitted for it. At all events, it is well to have that point settled, that some other plan may be tried, and no more time wasted in discussion.

Louis Blanc himself is a striking instance of what I have been saying throughout this paper. Certainly to look at him, no one would imagine him to be pre-eminent as a Man of Action. He has been a student, a historian, a journalist, and is a *litterateur* rather than a Thinker; and yet, by dint of strong convictions, he has raised himself from obscurity to European fame; and he has made himself one of the most notable people in France. This journalist, suddenly become minister, showed himself eminently practical. Think what you please of his *doctrines,* it is impossible to deny the precision with which he proceeded to organise them practically.—If France had responded to his ideas he would have organised labour upon his system in an incredible short space of time. Now this is all we can demand of a statesman, that he could be swift to execute, and that his operations should be precise. Swiftness, because this life of ours is short, and we have no time for delays; precise, because the real merits or faults are then best to be recognised.—Statesmen who indulge in "parliamentary logic, and bursts of forensic eloquence" may make a great show, but they cannot be called Men of Action. All the logic and eloquence in the world is mere noise, unless it be directed to some distinct aim; and certainly Louis Blanc, whatever vagueness there may be in his ideas, has never shown a want of distinctness in his mode of carrying them out.

To sum up:—

Thought is the guiding motive of the world.

Action is not mere movement, or restless gyration; but is, simply and truly, Thought being realized—passing into Act and Fact: the Body, of which Thought is the Soul and motive principle.

Consequently, our fittest rulers are those men in whom a high capacity for thought—"the keen eye to see"—is conjoined with, but not subjected to, an energetic will to realize convictions: in whom the body obeys the mind, not the mind the body: who acts upon Principles and not upon Precedents—upon Convictions and not upon Traditions. Our men of genius are our true Peers.

Shelly has grandly said, "Poets are the *unacknowledged* legislators of the world;" the time is approaching when they will be the *acknowledged* legislators!

From Chambers's Edinburg Journal.

THE BATH POST-BOY.

[*The original of Fielding's Squire Allworthy.*]

It was in the early part of the last century, when the mail was transmitted from the principal towns of England in charge of a mounted postman, with holster-pistols and saddle-bags, and carried from the smaller ones by poor boys, who received a half-penny a mile for serving the Post Office in all weathers, that the Postmaster of Bath informed all whom it might concern, by a printed bill in the window, that a smart active lad of 15 or thereabouts was required to carry the mail between that town and Marlborough, at the above-mentioned rate of wages.

The road was long and rough; and three days had already passed, during which the mail was carried by the Postmaster's own good boy, and man-of-all-work, much to his discomfort, and the manifest dissatisfaction of the good people of Marlborough, to whom their letters came several hours too late; but no candidate for the situation had yet presented himself. At length, on the fourth morning, which was that of a sultry July day, a thin, muscular, intelligent-looking boy, dressed in the habiliments of earlier years, which he had evidently outgrown, made his appearance, cap in hand, before Mr. Burton, the senior clerk, and inquired, "Sir, if you please, would I be old enough to carry the Marlborough bag? I'm only fourteen yet, but I'll be growing older and wiser I hope."

And may be worse!" muttered the clerk, who happened to be out of temper that morning. "But step in here," he continued, pointing to another room, "and Mr. Leathem will see what you're fit for."

Mr. Leathem was a quiet elderly gentleman, who had kept the Post Office for several years in the rich and gay city of Bath, which was, at the period of our story, the resort of all the fashionables of Britain, especially in the summer season, resembling, in that respect, what Brighton has since become. He spoke to the boy more civilly than his clerk had done; said he considered him tall enough for the business; and then he inquired what was his name, where his parents lived, and if he knew any respectable person who would give him a character for honesty and sobriety, as without such a certificate, the Post Office could not employ him? The boy answered that his name was Ralph Allen; that his father had been a poor tradesman, but he was dead; and his mother supported herself by taking in washing; and "I wasn't brought up here, Sir; but my mother came in hopes of getting fine work from the gentry; and here 's a certificate from a kind gentleman, the vicar of our parish; I used to run errands for him, and he said it might be useful to me:"

"This is to certify that Ralph Allen is a sensible, honest, industrious boy, and I hope will continue to be so. WILLIAM WARBURTON."

said the Postmaster, reading loud. "Well that's a good certificate, though the writer is unknown to me; but we will let it pass for this time, and take you on trial."

After several exhortations to be careful of the mail, and walk fast, that he might arrive in time, Ralph Allen was duly equipped with a leathern bag, suspended by a strap over his shoulder, containing all the letters and newspapers in those days transmitted to Marlborough, and sent forth to earn the half-penny per mile.

Day after day he performed that appointed journey, through sun and shower, going and coming to the entire satisfaction of the Postmasters of Bath and Marlborough. Roads were not then so convenient for travellers, nor time so precious with the public, as at present; but Ralph was never known to loiter by the way, nor arrive an hour too late which could seldom be said of other postboys. Travellers between the towns soon began to know him on the road, and remarked from stage-coach, waggon or saddle—the only modes of conveyance in those days—that his conduct was always careful and steady; and people who did not travel trusted him with small messages in consequence of their reports. If a lady wanted a fashionable cap from Bath, or a notable house-keeper some trifle which could be bought cheaper in Marlborough, Ralph Allen was known to be a sober and less exorbitant carrier than either the coachman or wagoner, and he was preferred accordingly. This was a source of additional gain, which increased every day, till the boy generally reached his destination in either town laden with parcels of all sorts and sizes, for the carriage of which he received from twopence to a farthing, as the case might be, or the liberality of his employers dictated. How the short time allowed between the close of his daily duty and his nightly rest was usually spent in his mother's poor but clean garret, nobody could tell; till Mr. Leathem, who had by this time a very high opinion of his postboy for general good conduct and correctness in his station, inquired one morning, while Ralph was waiting for the mail, what book was that protruding from his pocket?

"It is the 'Universal Spelling Book,' Sir," said Ralph, reddening as he pulled out the well-worn volume. "I try to learn at home in the little time I have, and can now nearly read."

"That's well my boy," said Mr. Leathem; I wish the rest of our boys would spend the leisure time so."

"And, Sir," continued Ralph, now encouraged to speak out, "I'm trying to write, too, and have got the master of the Blue Coat School to give me a lesson sometimes for doing his messages, Sir."

"You 'll be a clerk yet, Ralph," said the Postmaster laughing. "But it is a good endeavour, and I hope you 'll succeed; but mind be careful of the mail."

His employer's words turned out true, though spoken half in jest. Ralph continued to earn, by every honest though small way within nis reach; his earnings were saved to purchase an old book when he could not borrow it, or supply himself pens, ink, and paper, by which he at once amused and improved his few leisure hours in reading, or even spelling to his mother, when her day's toil was also done, and practising the chance lessons he could obtain from the schoolmaster. Reading was at that period a rare thing in his class, and cheap books of instruction were equally so; but from the Spelling Book, Ralph Allen advanced to the Dictionary and Grammar; from "strokes," to writing a good fair hand. His savings also increased by slow degrees, for both he and his mother were prudent; and Ralph only wished for the time when he might aspire to some better situation, and be enabled to add to her rest and comfort. Five years had thus passed away; and Ralph Allen had grown almost a man, when all the message-senders of Bath, among whom he was well known, rejoiced, even amid their regrets that they must look out for another *carrier,* to hear that Ralph had been promoted, through the kindness of Mr. Leathem to a clerkship in the Bath Post Office, and was actually seen in a new suit of clothes, performing his new duties at the Post Office window. After this, his mother washed nothing but lace and cambric, and Ralph was as steady and obliging in the Post Office as he had been with the mail on his back. His salary was comparatively small, but his prudence was great, and in another year or two, people discovered that Ralph had something in the bank. His habits of reading and thought also gave him an ability to invent needful improvements in the Post Office, which was then very imperfectly managed. These were modestly proposed; and as their necessity was seen, they soon obtained the sanction of the superior authorities, and raised the young clerk, not only in their estimation, but in office also, as in three years after his entrance he succeeded the senior clerk, Mr. Burton, by whom his application for the carriage of the Marlborough bag had been so ungraciously received, and who now retired to a small property he had purchased in the country. Two years more, and Ralph himself began to think of purchasing property also. There was a large sterile farm called Coome Down in the neighbourhood of the city, which the last three tenants had successively left in disgust and weariness, declaring that their labour and money were both lost on such an unprofitable spot, and the landlord offered it for sheep grazing on the very lowest terms. Great was the astonishment of all who knew him, when Ralph Allen became the purchaser of these poor and barren acres, Some said the young man's brains were turned with the books he read, and even his mother shook her head, and hoped it would turn out for the best; but Ralph gave up his situation at the Post Office, collected round him workmen and tools, and commenced, not without creating much wonder and many surmises, to break up the ground in all directions, as if in search of a mine.

"Neighbour, do you expect to find a pot of gold in that farm?" said an old farmer to him over the fence one morning, when he and his men were delving at a rocky spot which never could be cultivated.

"No," said Ralph; "but I expected, and thank Providence, I have found, a good stone quarry, which will repay me, and be useful to yon good town;" and he pointed to the spires of Bath.

"My stars!" cried the farmer, "he's not mad after all!" And so thought all Ralph's neighbours, when buyers came and workmen thronged to the new quarry; and scarcely a gentleman's house or public building of any description could be commenced in Bath without a supply of stone from Mr. Allen, as the Bath postboy was now deservedly called.

Mrs. Allen had long given up washing, and gone to reside in a neat cottage which her son built out of the first produce of his quarry; and many of her former employers saluted the good woman as she passed to St. Mary's church in her black sarsanet sac, high-heeled shoes, and velvet hood, like a respectable old lady of the period. About this time, the works of the great Dr. Warburton were attracting the public attention, and much talked of in the best society of Bath. Ralph Allen brought the latest published volume home one day, and found his mother seated in the small parlor with his old friend Mr. Leathem, who was about to retire from public business, and had called to see him. "What books you do buy, Ralph!" said the old woman, who had always a suspicion of her son's extravagance on this point; and she pointed to a large bookcase, where Dryden, Tillotson, and all the best authors of the preceeding age might be seen in their work, closely ranged together. "It was only last week," continued the good dame, "that you brought home that book about fame, written by one Mr. Pope."

"And don't you know, mother, who is the writer of this volume?" said Ralph. "Don't you remember Mr. Warburton, the parson of our own Greasley, in Nottinghamshire, who gave me the certificate which I presented to you, Mr. Leathem, ten years ago, when I wished to be postboy to Marlborough?"

This was true; the vicar of Greasley became the celebrated Dr. Warburton, afterward Bishop of Gloucester; and it was said Mr. Leathem's family kept that certifidate like a sort of relic.

"Ralph Allen's making his fortune," was the usual remark of everybody about Bath when the quarry was mentioned; and it had now grown an important matter, as the whole property of Coome Down, which so many farmers had called a dead loss, was found to be one vast bed of the best building stone.

Ralph was making money fast, and his deposits in the Bank increased every year; but his aims did not end there—the experience of his former situation in the Post Office was at length employed to some purpose. Sundry useful arrangements and inventions had long ago made his name and abilities known to the authorities of that department. At the period of our story, the Post Office in almost every county was farmed by some wealthy or enterprising person, who took its whole revenue and expenses in his own hands, paying to the Government a certain sum annually, according to his contract. Ralph, who had acquired a considerable acquaintance with all the details of the business, and had, beside, the good opinion of the most influential functionaries, proposed to vest the small fortune already gained by the Coome Down quarry in a Post Office contract for all England; and his proposal was accepted. From this period the career of Ralph Allen was one of uninterrupted prosperity. Under his administration, the Post Office revenue, even in that age of comparatively little letter-writing, was almost doubled in a few years, owing to the better arrangements introduced by him in the transmission of mails, and various postage regulations, which have made his name celebrated as one of the few who have conferred benefits of a lasting kind on their native country. But Ralph Allen was destined to become, if possible, sill more honorably known to fame. From his earliest youth he had cultivated his mind, as well as improved his fortune; as without the former endeavor, the latter would have been but half success, though wealth had been gathered like the sand. His Post Office contract in a short time realized such an income as made the proprietor one of the richest men in the neighbourhood of Bath.

Mrs. Allen had lived to see her son's prudent conduct and perseverance rewarded to an extent of which she had never dreamed; and the good dame closed her days in peace and comfort in the pleasant cottage at Coome Down, having nothing to regret, and no annoyance, but a shadowy fear, which at times slightly agitated the calm current of her latter day thoughts, that Ralph was buying too many books. But having gained the summit of his early ambition—a well and honorably-won fortune—he determined to enjoy it agreeably to his refined taste, in the munificent encouragement of arts and literature. He had acquired general respect as well as riches; and as his fortune raised him gradually in the scale of society, had won the esteem, and formed the acquaintance of men celebrated for their talents, and still famous through their works. Pope, Fielding, Swift, and Goldsmith were among the number of his friends; and the titled and fashionable paid a natural tribute to merit and success, by including Mr. Allen in their most select society.

The country round Bath is one of the finest districts in England, being diversified with beautiful wood-crowned hills and broad, green meadows. One property in particular, popularly called Prior Park, had long attracted Ralph Allen's eye from the barren slopes of Coome Down, and there, he often said, he should wish, if fortune permitted him, to build a mansion worthy of the scene. This project was at last put in execution. The possessor of the estate ruined his affairs by carelessness and extravagance in London; it was, in consequence, offered for sale, and Ralph Allen, Esq., became the purchaser of Prior Park. Here, on the slope of one of those wood-covered hills which he had often admired, a splendid mansion was erected under his own superintendence, whose beautiful Corinthian portico and tasteful decorations were the theme of praise among all the lovers of art; the former especially being still regarded as unrivalled in English architecture. Here Ralph retired about middle life, leaving the field of active industry to younger and more needy aspirants: here, also, he gathered round him the most polished society of that fashionable neighbourhood, and many of the authors the purchase of whose works had once astonished his mother.* Mr. Allen is well known to all conversant with the literature of those times, as its judicious and munificent patron, and, in particular, as the attached friend of the somewhat irritable poet, Alexander Pope, and the philosophic Bishop Warburton.

The facts of his story, though not so generally known, belong to real life, and are verified by his contemporaries. Prior Park has now become a Catholic College; but its romantic situation and fine Corinthian columns are still reckoned among the attractions of the district; and they offer a lesson of how much may be achieved by well-directed energy and persevering prudence.

* Prior Park looks down a beautiful valley, with the Cit of Bath reposing on the lower ground and rising slopes. On the right hand slope, (in Bathwick, if we remember rightly) stands a very handsome house of the style of the seventeenth century, with tall pales and gate enclosing the front garden, and looking toward the noble mansion of Prior Park. Enjoying the scenery there one day with a clerical friend, he informed us, that in that house Fielding wrote his celebrated novel, "Tom Jones," and that the character of "Squire Allworthy," was no other than his friend Mr. Allen. [Eds. Liverpool Mercury.

From the Sunday Dispatch.

MORALS OF THE CLERGY.

Some months ago we published a statistical table showing that the numbers of the clergy had diminished during the last fifty years in every country in Europe. We have no such tables at hand to show us how it has been, during the same time in America, but we doubt if there are half as many in proportion to the population as there were half a century ago.

In the State of New York there are about six thousand clergymen; more than in either of the other learned professions. Allowing them an average of five hundred dollars a year, and we think it must be larger, we pay these men three millions of dollars a-year, which it is to be hoped they earn in the cause of religion and morality.

It must be that the clergy are a great benefit to society, or they would not be maintained at such an enormous expense, but they would be much more useful if their lives were more exemplary. We do not mean in praying and preaching, but in practical matters of quite as much importance.

Very few clergymen enjoy good health. They are subject to headache, uneasiness in the stomach, cramps, rheumatism, and a general lethargy, which infects their sermons, and sends their audiences to sleep. The cause of this is in their bad habits.—They eat too much, do no work, take but little exercise, and have no amusements. Many of them do not bathe often enough for purposes of cleanliness. For the want of healthful exercise, ablutions and amusements, they too commonly resort to stimulants. A great many smoke and chew tobacco, nearly all drink large quantities of tea and coffee, and many are confirmed opium eaters. These habits derange the nerves and cause the dispepsia.

Clergymen are peculiarly subject to moral irregularities, from these and other causes. We never wonder at the number of instances where clergymen have been caught in immoral practices, and there is no reason to suppose that one case in ten ever comes to light. The marriages of clergymen are too often those of convenience. A young minister is always considered a good match, and he often marries a woman he has no real love for, from what he considers a sense of duty. It is a made up match in the society. This leads to domestic unhappiness, irregular desires and practices.

Abuses gradually creep into every system, however good and pure, and this institution of the clergy seems to be full of them. We think these matters ought to be taken up and discussed by the press. There is no way in which we can do the cause of religion so much service as by reforming the clergy.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

THE PLANET NEPTUNE.—This newly-discovered planet has a diameter of 43,000 miles, consequently it is about two hundred times larger than the earth, and may be seen with a telescope of moderate power. The motion is retrograde at present, and its mean velocity of 12,000 miles an hour is six times slower than that of the earth. Being on the confines of the known system, and at the distance of 3,000 millions miles from the sun, it can only have the 1-1,3000 part of the light and heat we receive from that body; but the deficiency of light, at least, may, in some measure, be supplied by moons, two of which have been discovered; besides, like Saturn, it has a ring, whose diameter is to that of the planet as three to two, and, consequently, 64.000 miles; the breadth of the ring is unknown.—*Fraser's Magazine for May.*

TO DISCHARGE IMPURE AIR.—There is a very simple plan by which we may get entirely rid of the deleterious and destructive products of animal effluvia and carbonic acid gas, &c. and other emanations. A pipe, having a funnel mouth, and imbedded in the wall, near the ceiling, should eventually be carried into a chimney where a constant fire is maintained, as that of the kitchen; but as chimneys sometimes "smoke," or have an imperfect "draught," it will be necessary to carry the pipe to the summit of the chimney, lest otherwise smoke enter the pipe. The pipe being constantly heated by the high temperature of the chimney it traverses, will certainly discharge all the impure air lingering in contact with the ceiling; and the rush of air entering the funnel is remarkably evident by bringing near the orifice a lighted candle.—*Practical Researches, by John Murray, of Brechin.*

The *Messager* states that amongst the candidates for a seat in the National Assembly is Citizen Richemond, who pretends to be the dauphin, the son of Louis XVI. Under the reigns of Louis XVIII. Charles X. and Louis Philippe, he frequently put forth his pretensions to the crown.

Mrs. Phillips remarks, in the *People's Press:* "Whilst People's Colleges and Mechanics' Institutions have sprung up in abundance, to aid young men in the pursuit of knowledge, no corresponding facilities have existed, to ensure similar advantages to the female portion of the community."

"Lord Stanley," remarks the *Gateshead Observer,* "is of opinion that the present moment is inopportune for organic change. The 'present moment' is always inopportune."—Byron says:

"In life there is no present."

This should be the motto for those who oppose all reforms on the ground that the "present" time is not fitting; they qualify a scriptural truth: there may be "a time for all things"—except reforms.

CONQUERED AND CONQUEROR.—The hospitals of a conquered army generally exhibit a scene of great moral depression, and many of the soldiers die from wounds which did not appear to be of a dangerous character; whilst in the hospitals of the victorious the wounded not only recover from frightful injuries, but, even in the midst of the most severe bodily suffering, they exhibit gaiety and cheerfulness, entertaining the most perfect confidence in their recovery.—*Medical Times.*

THE JESUITS.—It is currently reported that Lord Clifford has given up to the Jesuits his beautiful seat of Ugbrook Park, Chudleigh. The noble lord has long been known for his devout attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, and it was reported a few months since that he had received a Cardinal's hat. Instead of that he has received the Jesuit's, which is a shocking bad hat in public estimation.—*Western Times.*

HARD HANDS AND SOFT IN MEN.—Hard hands, though not insensible to love, know little tenderness; soft hands are more capable of tenderness than of love. Firm hands without hardness, and elastic without softness, show an extended and active intelligence. This hand becomes hard with difficulty, though under severe labour; the natural hard hand, on the contrary, hardens still more with extreme facility.—*M. d'Arpentigny in the Medical Times.*

THE QUEEN AND THE OLD WOMAN.—At the village of Heath there is an old woman aged eighty-eight, who was born on the 10th of February, and used to say to her neighbours that, as her birth day was the Queen's wedding-day, she thought she was entitled to a slice of the royal plum-pudding. By some channel or other this gossip got to the ears of the Queen; and her Majesty being of the same opinion as the old lady, has sent her three sovereigns, with an intimation that the gratuity will be renewed yearly. "How ever has the Queen found out," says our heroine, "that there is such an old woman in the world as me?"—*Gateshead Observer.*

SOURCES OF MORAL STRENGTH.—What is radically *false* can give no strength. Women have a great deal of modesty, delicacy, and feminine refinement, but they are not taught the principles from which these ought to spring as natural fruits. Certain qualities are praised, but it is like children who make a garden by sticking full blown flowers into the ground and expecting them to keep their bloom. Those who instruct them do not go to the real principle which shall teach them to discern right from wrong, nor give them any strong truths by which to guide their steps amongst the temptations and delusions which beset them; therefore we find that all the talk they have heard about "graceful modesty" and "female delicacy" does not enable them to stand against the stern realities of a strong temptation; propriety cannot swallow up passion.—*The Half-Sisters.*

THE WOMEN'S CLUB.—Yesterday evening the inauguration of the "Club des Femmes" took place in the ancient "Concert Spectacle." An immense crowd of *curieux et curieuses* were in attendance long before opening the doors.—There was much difficulty in obtaining silence when the proceedings commenced, not from the fair members themselves, but from the ungallant men who should have been auditors, and who, if they were expecting some ridiculous exhibition, must have been disappointed. The "Presidente," after long and vain efforts, at length succeeded in obtaining silence, and, what is more, applause. She explained the object of the club to be, the organization of the labour of woman, not in taking for its principle that which had been attempted with so little success as to the labour of men, but in adopting, as bases, sisterhood and the development of the capacity and skill of each member. This allusion to the absurd theories of M. Louis Blanc was received with unanimous applause. The club has obtained from the Government the promise of places as workshops, of which two will be opened this week. Every woman having no particular trade will gain one franc a day, and work will be given according to ability. The others will gain more or less according to their abilities and industry. Every month the profits will be divided, and every year prizes will be given to the most industrious. The club will provide a cooking place, at which every member will be provided with a dinner of soup, meat, vegetables, and bread at four sous. The Presidente was loudly applauded, and the plan of the club much approved. The only incident that gave birth to a little merriment was an observation of the fair speaker, that they wished to treat men as their brothers and friends, and that they regarded them as their equals.—*La Presse, May 13.*

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